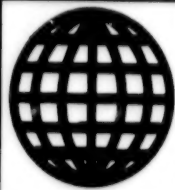


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17 OCTOBER 1990



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-90-059

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Iraqi Military Threat Reportedly Exaggerated

90AE0323A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
10 Aug 90 p B1

[Editorial]

[Text] Yitzhaq Rabin can rest easy. Very few in Israel dismiss the danger to our existence in the presence of a neighbor like Iraq. On the contrary, there are many, perhaps very many, who suffer from the opposite affliction, namely exaggerating the threat. From this viewpoint, we have to agree with the present defense minister Moshe Arens who does not suggest that we ignore the threats coming from Baghdad, but, instead, that they be put in the right perspective.

It is not to be assumed that Arens and Rabin are expressing different views, or more precisely that they emphasize different aspects of the same evaluation because they are looking at different facts concerning the actual capability of Iraq's ruler, not to be confused with his boasts.

The present defense minister and his predecessor know what the entire world knows, namely that Iraq does not possess a missile with a chemical warhead. If a missile is fired from there in Israel's direction, and if the missile, indeed, covers the distance and hits somewhere in the area where it is intended to go—even if it is a population center—it will deliver a normal explosive charge. The quantitative element is not significant in this case, because we're not dealing here with the delivery of capabilities known from the days of the balance of fear between the blocs, but with slow and sporadic fire which will probably soon attract a counteroffensive. This is bad enough, but arguably not sufficient to arouse widespread anxiety, as does the thought of missiles carrying nerve gas landing without warning and catching us in a helpless stance and unable to defend ourselves against them.

There is reasonable cause to believe that Iraqi aircraft carrying chemical bombs (and Iraq does have such aircraft, as opposed to missile heads) will encounter great difficulties honing in on Israel. There is a good chance that the Air Force or air defense will intercept them in flight. In other words, there is no solid foundation for fear of the unknown.

According to all logical considerations, Iraq will not achieve any real gains from implementing any of its threats against Israel. Moreover, it would be taking a great and superfluous risk. As long as it does not deploy sizable forces within the range of the Israeli border, all it can cause is annoyance, especially by spreading fear. More than fearing missiles carrying binary or regular poison gas verbally launched by the Iraqi ruler, we should consider the political impact of this attempt to spread terror.

We don't know whether the somewhat scratchy record that the prime minister played yesterday about Israel's determination to defend its security—together with its resolution not to be dragged into fighting others' wars—will produce any result. These things have been repeated countless times, and only people who tend to believe politicians' statements at all will probably be persuaded by Shamir's words. Those who do not, probably will not give credence to anything else the prime minister may say. As for the influence of such a statement on the people of Israel: It may sound more like a challenge than as an assurance. We have heard enough appeals of this kind through the years, legitimately or otherwise.

Ze'ev Schiff Examines Eastern Front of Future

90AE0323B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
10 Aug 90 p B1

[Article by Ze'ev Schiff]

[Text] It is a mistake to think, as it has been said in Knesset, that Israel has no direct strategic interest in what is happening these days between Iraq and Kuwait. Although it involves events that are occurring far from our borders, the results of this conflict with Saddam Husayn will have an impact on Israel's military and strategic situation. In Kuwait it will be decided to a large extent whether the Iraqi ruler will in the future dare to send his armies to Jordan.

If Saddam Husayn wins this conflict it will not be a failure only for the United States. This will immediately affect Israel's deterrence capability which, as is known, rests on two elements: the strength and long arm of the IDF [Israeli Defense Forces], and the United States' obligation toward Israel, the military aid the IDF receives from it, and the strategic cooperation between the two countries. For many of the Arabs, the significance of an American failure in the Gulf will be that there is nothing to fear from the United States in the Mediterranean either, where Washington has no oil interests. If the international community fails to stop someone who breaks into the international banking system and threatens its oil supply, why should it do any better at helping a Jewish state attacked with unconventional weapons? Thus, an American failure will also shake up the pragmatic Arab group led by Egypt. Husni Mubarak's Egypt, bound by the peace treaty with Israel, will lose its standing in favor of Iraq. The Arab world will look upon Saddam Husayn as a successful hero and will fall in step with his extremism.

Consequently, the present conflict with Saddam Husayn may indeed be a battle for a distant position, but its fate will decide what our eastern front will look like in the future. If Saddam manages to escape with his prey and the American and other pressures on him are eased, Iraq will turn toward the west. He will then have no trouble arousing the eastern front and rallying it against Israel. This is the strategic significance of the present conflict in the Persian Gulf, and that is why Israel should not shrink from becoming involved in this conflict. The threats to

us are not insignificant even if we try to artificially distance ourselves from what is happening between the United States and Iraq. If Saddam Husayn decides to send missiles against Israel, he will do so even if we don't do anything. It would be enough for American planes to bomb targets in Iraq for him to fire missiles at Israel. Iraq's claim that Israel is participating in the planning of an air strike against it is proof of this.

Israel would do better not to shift from one extreme to the other in its statements. At one and the same time we hear energetic denials and claims that we are not doing a thing and are not taking part in the mobilization of forces. There are also daily reiterations about strategic cooperation with the United States. We keep reminding everyone that Israel is stronger than Kuwait. We've said what we wanted to say, now we better shut up and act quietly.

Israel's actions should also include a determined stand against Jordan which, in contrast to other Arab countries, has ostentatiously sided with the Iraqi camp. In this respect, Israel's objective must be to prevent military cooperation between Jordan and Iraq. According to the defense minister, we view Jordan as a buffer country, and any change in its position, especially in conjunction with Iraq, will compel us to take action. However, in the present situation there is no need to wait until the Iraqi divisions cross into Jordan. We don't mean that the IDF should invade Jordan in order to take up positions there, but we must not under any circumstance allow Iraqi ships to unload goods in the port of Aqaba.

Aqaba's importance for Iraq will increase if the United States decrees a blockade on the Persian Gulf because it will almost become its only port. During the Gulf war we even permitted tanks to be unloaded in Aqaba for Iraq. Now that Saddam Husayn is threatening to burn half of Israel and to create damage for us, if he is surrounded by the Americans, we have every right to preempt loading and unloading of Iraqi vessels in that Jordanian port. That will not be a step against Jordan, but against Iraq.

King Husayn always had his own method in such cases. Now, after joining an extreme side like Iraq, he will certainly hasten to send signals to Israel that he didn't really mean what he did in this connection. However, it must be said that this time it is too serious for us to go along with his pendulum games.

In Saddam Husayn's case there is need for more extensive root canal treatment in order to bring about regional changes. It is not enough to exact a price for his present actions and to draw new lines in the sand. If we want to bring about changes, the present Iraqi regime must be overthrown and Saddam Husayn himself must be removed.

In the past the question was asked more than once, whether the removal of one leader could change the behavior of a state and its strategic objectives. To anyone who wanted to eliminate 'Arafat we could say that his

removal would not make a difference because his existence or absence would not change the objectives of the Palestinian national movement. In Saddam Husayn's case there is a very dangerous combination of elements. His overt actions are known. He started two wars, against Iran and against Kuwait. He did not hesitate to make massive use of chemical warfare against civilians, too, including his own citizens. His less overt actions include efforts to obtain nuclear and biological weapons, in addition to the chemical weapons he has. If he had nuclear weapons in his hands today—which would have been the case if Israel had not destroyed the nuclear reactor near Baghdad in 1981—Saddam Husayn would certainly have threatened to use a nuclear bomb during the present conflict.

And when to those two problems we add Saddam's psychotic personality, which has been confirmed by people who know him, we get a very dangerous combination for the international community, and especially for Israel. Any investment is worth making to remove this man from power in Iraq, and this method is preferable to killing thousands of innocent Iraqis.

ISRAEL

Call for Use of Tactical Nuclear Weapons Criticized

90AE0320B Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 31 Aug 90
p 2C

[Article by Moshe Zak]

[Text] Israel was not asked to participate in the international force that the United States is building against Iraq. Israel did not dispatch an expeditionary force to this army, as its neighbors Egypt and Syria did, and does not envy the cooperation between them and the United States. The prime minister reiterates that the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] will not become involved in a war that has no direct bearing upon Israel. His words receive the appreciation of President Bush. Nevertheless, irregular forces of reserve generals and military experts assault the media target with full force, in the war of nerves currently being waged in the Gulf, and are creating the erroneous impression of Israeli involvement in the preparation for war.

One who thumbs through the world press or listens to foreign broadcasts cannot refrain from admiring the tremendous capability demonstrated by the Israeli military experts in capturing the media target. The authoritative style of the experts from Israel grants their words an image as if President Bush had invited them into his war room. And when Yanush, Major General Avigdor Ben-Gal, proposes that President Bush "employ clean, tactical, and limited nuclear weapons," he causes festivities in the international media.

The American generals well know the contents of the weapons stocks of the United States. Their accessibility

to classified information is greater than that of the Israeli chatterboxes, but there are those in the American media who jump at the mobilization of Israeli reservists in order to prove their groundless argument that Israel is pushing the United States into a military confrontation in the Gulf.

Israel did not accept Yanush's plan to place electric barbed wire fences around it as a military substitute for Judaea and Samaria, while the United States will not accept Yanush's plan to employ tactical nuclear weapons to solve the crisis in the Gulf. Until this day, American statesmen are shocked when they recall the advice given in 1954 by Admiral Redford, the head of the Joint Staff of the United States, to assist France in its war in Indo-China by employing nuclear weapons. Indeed, the alternative was difficult for the United States; it became entangled in a long war in Vietnam and was defeated. In any event, Bush will not employ nuclear weapons against Iraq. This option is reserved only for the case of existential danger to the United States.

Yanush's advice, like the public advice volunteered to the United States by his colleagues in the reserves, is likely to assist only those who seek to attach an Israeli label to the conflict in the Gulf. The praise that Bush extended this week in a message to Yitzhaq Shamir for the restraint that Israel is demonstrating, was intended to guarantee that it will sit quietly as long as there are American soldiers in the region and will continue to maintain a low profile in the conflict. The complex defense relations make it difficult to maintain a low profile. Thus, for example, Israel sought to keep the trip to Washington by Major General David Ivry, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a secret. His mission was leaked in the Washington Post, giving it an image that Israel and the United States were not interested in. It is difficult to prevent what is necessary, but those who grant public advice must be called to order, in order not to strengthen the charges thrust forward in the American media, as if Israel is urging the United States to open fire.

Indeed, it will be very regrettable if the present conflict in the Gulf will not curb the Iraqi threat of unconventional weapons, the flagbearer being Saddam Husayn. It will be dangerous to regional peace if the secretary general of the United Nations, in his discussions with the Iraqi foreign minister in Amman, raises a plan to "freeze the existing situation", without removing the source of the threat to peace in the region. On the eve of the Six Day War the secretary general of the United Nations also sought to "freeze the situation," and thus grant international authorization to the blockade of the straits of Tiran by Abd-al-Nasir. Such a settlement would be bad for Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, and even bad for Israel. The United States knows that. It has other means to bring about the fall of Saddam and the curb of the Iraqi threat

to peace. The rejection of the mediation of 'Arafat and Husayn do not obligate Israel to be among those who are pushing for a war in the Gulf, inasmuch as this, as far as it is from us, is bad for Israel.

One cannot suspect MK [Knesset Member] Yossi Sarid, who frequently voices deviant positions, of preaching against freedom of speech. Yet, Yanush's advice that the United States must employ unpolluted nuclear weapons against Iraq put an end to his tranquility. In a meeting of the foreign and defense affairs committee of the Knesset, he demanded that steps be taken against Yanush, adding: "This crazy elephant has already dirtied and polluted, and the prime minister must give him an unbiased opinion of him and of what he said". The prime minister apologized for not being able to shut mouths, but it appears that he has the authority to order the chief of staff to prohibit reserve officers from involving Israel in complications, through their foolishness, in preparation for a war that it has no interest in participating in.

If I did not fear that my compliment to Yossi Sarid was likely to harm him in his party, I would add that his words regarding the Palestinians in the Kuwait crisis were also wise. His measured words were not properly understood by his opponents from the right and his friends from the left. He did not reject the right of the Palestinians to choose their leader in the Arab world. He adheres to the formula that a peace agreement is signed with an enemy, but the Iraqi pattern that the PLO and the Palestinians support, means that an agreement is not an agreement and a promise is not a promise. If the Palestinians adopt Saddam's norm of violating agreements for themselves, what point is there in 'Arafat's promises of a Palestinian state alongside Israel and some agreement to be achieved with the Palestinians?

Ashraf Gorbai, who was Egypt's ambassador in Washington, claimed this week in the Washington Post that Egypt had stood by Saddam when it thought that an Israeli nuclear threat existed against Iraq, but he did not reveal the entire story. Mubarak turned to Shamir and transmitted to him a promise in the name of Saddam that he had no intention of attacking Israel. In exchange, he asked for and received a parallel promise from Shamir. Mubarak was convinced that he had contributed to the easing of tension between Israel and Iraq. But Iraq's invasion of Kuwait proved that he cannot rely upon Saddam's promises, and will no longer be able to persuade Israel and the United States to rely upon them.

There is no need to employ nuclear weapons in order to guarantee that agreements signed in the future among the peoples of the region will be strictly maintained, but one must not become reconciled with the norm that Saddam seeks to impart to the region, merely because the Palestinians are enthusiastic about the strong stand of an Arab leader against the Americans, whom they so detest.

BANGLADESH

Foreign Minister Addresses Special Parliament Session

91AS0024A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 26 Aug 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud on Saturday told the Jatiya Sangsad that the government considered it a moral obligation to take the decision of sending troops to Saudi Arabia at the request of King Fahd as he is the custodian of the two holiest places of Islam—the Kaaba and the Holy Shrine of the Prophet (SM).

Making a statement on the floor of the Jatiya Sangsad on the Middle East situation, the Foreign Minister said Bangladesh condemned the Iraqi aggression in Kuwait and its subsequent annexation as the action did not conform with the country's foreign policy of friendship to all and malice to none. He said when Bangladesh's expectation of an amicable solution to the problem did not come true it demanded immediate pullout of all Iraqi troops from the Kuwaiti soil and endorsed the decision of the United Nations, Arab League and the O.I.C. [Organization of the Islamic Conference] and condemned the application of force to solve the bilateral problems.

The President summoned the emergency session of the Jatiya Sangsad to discuss the Middle East situation in the wake of occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and its subsequent annexation.

Anisul Islam Mahmud said though Iraq is a friendly country Bangladesh cannot endorse its actions in Kuwait as it was a serious violation of international norms. He said the Iraqi action would encourage the stronger nations to make similar behaviour to their relatively weaker neighbours. It was not only the question of principles but also the question of existence, independence, sovereignty and existence of the smaller nations of the world including Bangladesh.

The Foreign Minister said the Bangladesh troops would be used for the defence of Saudi Arabia. Simultaneously the Bangladesh would continue to maintain contact with the other Muslim countries specially the Gulf states in its endeavour to establish peace in the Middle East.

He said the Iraqi government was aware that the Bangladeshi troops were sent to help restore stability in the Gulf region and for the protection of the Saudi Arabia. He believed that the government of Iraq would understand the compulsion of the Bangladesh in this regard.

Referring to questions raised by some quarters about the justifiability of sending troops to Saudi Arabia, Anisul Islam Mahmud said the decision did not violate the constitutional provision as Bangladesh did not declare war against any state or involve itself in any such war. Moreover, there was no war in the Middle East, he

added. In the event of engagement of our troops in the war if it occurs, the approval of the Jatiya Sangsad would be a must, he asserted.

He explained the measures taken by the government to face the situation in the Middle East. He said about 4.5 lakh Bangladeshi were living in the countries of the Middle East including Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The Bangladesh expatriates in the Middle East included doctors, engineers, teachers and a large number of both skilled and unskilled manpower. The combined remittances of the Bangladeshis in Middle East amounted to \$500 million annually. He said the imports from the Middle East to Bangladesh amounted to \$200 million and exports volume stood at \$50 million. The number of Bangladeshis constituted 70,000 to 80,000 alone in Kuwait in addition to 10,000 in Iraq.

Expressing concern over the situation in Kuwait after the Iraqi occupation, he said misfortune befell the 80,000 Bangladeshis living there. Scores of Bangladeshis started leaving Kuwait and entering Saudi Arabia crossing the border. Bangladesh Government, he said, had been watching the situation and instructed the Bangladesh Missions to extend full cooperation to the Bangladeshis crossing to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Turkey. At least 3000 Bangladeshis had so far taken shelter in different camps in Saudi Arabia, he added.

Not only that, the government had taken speedy measures for the repatriation of the Bangladeshis from Saudi Arabia without further delay. The first batch of 298 Bangladeshi repatriates were flown to Dhaka on Thursday by a chartered flight of Bangladesh Biman. Almost at the same time another batch of 421 Bangladeshis arrived in Dhaka by a Saudia flight. Other Bangladeshis who had taken shelter in Jordan and Iraq from Kuwait would also be repatriated to Dhaka soon, he informed the Sangsad.

Referring to 443 Bangladeshis taken to Baghdad from Kuwait, the Foreign Minister said the Iraqi authorities earlier did not allow the Bangladesh Embassy in Baghdad to contact them. The Foreign Minister, however, told the House that Iraq had informed the government that it had no objection to repatriate 443 Bangladeshis to Dhaka and appropriate measures in this respect had already been taken.

Parliament Supports Sending of Troops to Mideast

91AS0018A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 26 Aug 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Jatiya Sangsad [JS] Saturday endorsed the Bangladesh government stand on the question of withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restoration of the legitimate government of the state of Kuwait, reports BSS.

A unanimous resolution adopted by the Sangsad after a full-dress discussion on the Middle East situation supported the decision of the government to send a token contingent of troops to Saudi Arabia responding to the request of the Saudi King. The Sangsad was of the view that this step of the government would help the cause of peace and stability in the area and the broader interest of the ummah.

The resolution was moved by the Leader of the House Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed.

The Sangsad expressed its deep concern at the grave situation arising out of Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait and the subsequent escalation of tension in the Gulf, further damaging peace and stability in the region.

These developments have far-reaching implications for peace and well being for the world at large, the resolution said.

The Sangsad firmly believed that resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, Organisation of the Islamic Conference and the Arab League constituted a firm basis for the solution of the problem and restoration of peace in the area.

The Sangsad expressed its deep concern for the security of Bangladesh nationals in Kuwait and appreciated the government steps for their repatriation. The House supported the resolution of the United Nations Security Council on the security of all foreign nationals in Kuwait and Iraq and for allowing them freedom of exit from those two countries.

The Sangsad expressed its confidence that the Bangladesh government would take all necessary steps consistent with the principles of international law, decision of the United Nations and its own interest to establish peace and stability in the area in concert with other countries of the world.

The brief one-day session of the Jatiya Sangsad was prorogued here on Saturday evening after adoption of a resolution unanimously on the stand taken by Bangladesh on the question of withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restoration of the legitimate government of the state.

The Deputy Speaker, Alhaj Reazuddin Ahmed read out the prorogation order of the President at 8:45 pm following a six-hour long debate on the Middle East situation.

The Leader of the House, Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, who wound up the debate, said the unanimous resolution on the current Middle East situation which had far reaching implications for peace and well-being for the world at large reflected the irresistible national unity and is a unique example.

After the House adopted the resolution unanimously the Leader of the Opposition, Mr A.S.M. Abdur Rob, told

the House that the entire nation became panicky following the Iraqi attack and annexation of Kuwait in the post-Second World War period. The decision of the House, he said, demonstrated that the entire nation including the opposition were united to protect sovereignty of a country. He said the resolution would be for ever remembered. It was proved that "we are against any aggression and we are against expansionism."

Before reading out the prorogation order of the President, Deputy Speaker Reazuddin Ahmed told the House that the decision taken by the Sangsad was historic and important.

Summoned by President Hussain Mohammad Ershad the special session of the Jatiya Sangsad to discuss the Middle East situation was participated by 15 members of the Opposition bench.

Earlier in the morning sitting the foreign minister, Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud made a lengthy statement detailing the worldwide tensions over the Gulf situation, sparked off by Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait and the stand taken by Bangladesh.

After commencement of the session earlier in the day, Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed described the session as very important in the parliamentary history of the country and expressed his deep regards and gratitude to President Ershad for convening the special session of the House to discuss the Middle East situation.

The Speaker, Mr Shamsul Huda Chowdhury presided over the three-hour long morning session.

The discussion was participated by Leader of Opposition, Mr A.S.M. Abdur Rob, Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mr Ehsan Ali Khan, Mr Shahjahan Siraj (JSD-S [Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal]), Major (Retd) Bazlul Huda (Freedom Party), Mr Nur Alam Ziku, Chief Whip of Opposition, Major (Retd) Azgar Ali (Ind [Independent]), Mr Dabiruddin Joarder (COP [Combined Opposition Parties]), Mr Mahbubul Alam (Ind), Mia Abbas Ali Khan (Ind), Mafizur Rahman Rokan (COP), Syed Mashqurul Alam Chowdhury (Ind), Mr M.A. Gofran (COP), Mr Wali Ashraf (Ind), Mr Sirajuddin Ahmed (Ind), and Mr Abdul Matin Mia (JSD-S).

Returnees From Mideast Tell of Iraqi Atrocities

91AS0021A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 24 Aug 90 pp 1, 10

[Article by Shahiduzzaman Khan]

[Text] Those nightmarish days in Kuwait, long trekking through the desert on a hazardous escape and agonising memories in the camps still haunt the Bangladeshis just repatriated from Saudi Arabia. To their disbelief, they found themselves landing at the Zia International Airport in the early hours of Thursday.

The first batch of stranded Bangladeshis returned home by Saudia and Biman flights. The flights were chartered

for their repatriation to Bangladesh. Hundreds of relatives, wives and children were seen waiting anxiously at the airport from midnight. Hopes of getting their near and dear ones back from the beleaguered city of Kuwait ended in success but many were disappointed too.

The scene at the waiting lounge at the airport was full of emotions and tears. When the Biman flight landed, a waiting lady was seen crying. She wondered whether her husband would at all come. When the passengers checked in one by one, some waiting passengers burst into tears finding their relatives. When all the passengers left the terminal, some disappointed relatives were seen asking anybody approaching, "have all the returnees checked in, sir?"

Both the flights carried 712 stranded Bangladeshis out of an estimated 7000 evacuees from Kuwait to Saudi Arabia. They trekked difficult desert by cars, buses and on foot then entered the Saudi territory. The Saudi police patrol escorted them to the camps set up by the Saudi Government.

Some of the passengers narrated harrowing tales of their escape. Mr. Monir Hossain Mantu, a member of the Kuwaiti coast guard under the Ministry of Interior, told THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER at the airport that during the Iraqi invasion, he was on duty on a patrol boat near the Saudi-Kuwaiti border. After the disturbances, he crossed the border without any obstruction from the Iraqis. He said the border was tightened by the Iraqis after Bangladesh's decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia. He heard deaths of three Bangladeshis at Shoyeba Telephone Exchange for failing to obey the orders of the Iraqi soldiers.

Nurul Islam of Radhanagar, Narayanganj described the gruesome murder of a fellow Bangladeshi living in Faheel market area in Kuwait. When a group of Bangladeshis headed for the Saudi border, they were intercepted by the invading troops and asked for their destinations. One of the members of the mission, Kamal (28) of Bhanga Upazila of Faridpur district told the army that he was going to Saudi Arabia. The Iraqis shot him dead instantaneously. They also injured his brother Joynal (32) brutally for the same reason. Joynal is now under treatment at a Saudi hospital. Mr. Hossain said the lives of the remaining persons were saved miraculously as they said that they were going for work to another destination.

Disembarking from the exit lounge, Solim wanted to see his wife first. Let's see where is my family and how she is doing the fearful reunion of the family led man to be subdued with emotions. Selim told the story how he fled the besieged city of Kuwait. Jahangir of Daudkandi repeated the same story of his flight. Jahangir reported nearly 20 deaths in the city of Kuwait. He saw the Iraqis dragging away the bodies but he did not know whether the bodies of those killed belonged to any foreign country. An employee of the fire service under KPTC [expansion unknown], he crossed the border on 13

August. He said water, electricity and utility services were virtually stopped in the city of Kuwait.

Abdul Haq, a supervisor of the Al-Nasib Cleaning Company, crossed the border on 17 August. He reported death of one Bangladeshi on the first day of the invasion on 2 August. The body was loaded in a car for about five days. Selim was a driver in Jahara of Kuwait, the disputed Island over which the war was initiated. He said the Iraqis had faced some resistance at Jahara. An Iraqi tank was destroyed at Jahara bridge point. He was on a visit to Abbasiya on the fateful day and on his return, he found the Iraqi soldiers patrolling the streets. Along with other 20 countrymen, he trekked through the difficult terrains in a minibus and entered the Saudi territory through Khabzi border.

Marzina Bibi, the lone woman returnee was nervously looking for her near and dear ones. An exhausted and bewildered Marzina did not want to talk about the nightmarish days in Kuwait after the Iraqi invasion. Hailing from Aminbazar, Mirpur of Dhaka, Marzina was a maid in a Sheikh's house where she spent nearly five years. She made a hazardous journey to the Saudi border risking her life. I want to have some fresh air. Will you excuse me, said Marzina as she was confronted by a host of journalists. A.K.M. Forkan, a mechanic by profession narrated the painful story of his four-day difficult journey to the desert border before being identified by the Saudi border guards. He said the Iraqis did not have it so bad until Dhaka's decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia.

Computer operator Rihan from Dohar and Shah Alam from Nawabganj said they could not bring anything with them as they had to walk 45 kms to Saudi the border. They could not draw any money from the banks as all banks and financial institutions were closed.

I have lost everything during the crisis and here I am back empty handed, lamented Sharif Hossain, 28, who was working as a driver in Kuwait. For days together, he had nothing to eat virtually and sometimes I had an egg for the whole day, he said.

Despite the happy reunion, most of the returnees worried about their future, their jobs and their money and savings they left behind. Most of the bewildered passengers came empty handed with no big suitcases and luggages.

Bangladesh has about 70,000 nationals working in Kuwait before the Iraqi invasion. The invading Iraqi troops captured and took away 443 Bangladeshis from Kuwait to Baghdad, where they have been detained. The Foreign Office said more than 7,000 Kuwait-based Bangladeshis fled to Saudi Arabia and they are now being flown back home.

The Biman will operate at least 30 flights, each carrying 298 people, to repatriate the Bangladeshis who have taken refuge in Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile, the list of passengers of the first flight did not match with the incoming passengers. The Bangladesh Embassy in Riyadh prepared the list on priority basis. When the chartered Biman flight went to Riyadh many enlisted persons could not be traced according to the list. Informed sources said many of the stranded Bangladeshis stayed back in Saudi Arabia taking over assignments. A Saudi catering company was said to have engaged nearly 400 persons, most of whom are Bangladeshis.

Report on Iraqi Recruitment of Bangladeshis Denied

Foreign Ministry Press Conference

91AS0022A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
22 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] In a veiled warning to the Iraqi Embassy in Bangladesh, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday no foreign mission could recruit people from the host country for any war purposes.

"This is not covered by any law or set rules for normal activities of a diplomatic mission," he said.

Replying to a question on reported recruitment of Bangladesh nationals by the Iraqi Embassy in Dhaka, he said "we don't consider it a legitimate action by the Iraqi mission." He however, hastened to add the Iraqi mission did not inform the Foreign Ministry of anything in this regard and the Foreign Ministry was in constant touch with the Iraqi embassy.

At a regular news briefing yesterday at the Foreign Ministry, the spokesman told another questioner that the report of volunteering to enlist names at the embassy was ambiguous since such enrolment had no validity or approval by the government.

Asked about Iraqi ultimatum for shifting all the diplomatic missions from Kuwait to Baghdad by Friday, the spokesman said "we don't accept the authority of Iraq in Kuwait." [passage omitted]

Ambassador's Denial

91AS0022B Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
23 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] Iraqi Ambassador in Bangladesh Mr. Zuhayr 'Ummad al-'Umar came to the Foreign Ministry yesterday and denied that his mission was recruiting people from Bangladesh at this hour of crisis in the Gulf following Baghdad's invasion of Kuwait.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman told newsmen at a regular briefing that the Iraqi envoy met the Additional Foreign Secretary and said that his mission was not engaged in any activities like recruiting people from the host country. People were coming voluntarily to enlist their names at the embassy and nothing more, the envoy added.

The Iraqi Ambassador conveyed his Government's commitment for providing safety and security to Bangladesh nationals in Iraq and in the Iraqi occupied state of Kuwait. Meanwhile, 80 Bangladesh nationals trekked to safety in Saudi Arabia from the border point of Ar-Ruqi from Iraqi occupied Kuwait Tuesday.

The spokesman said the Bangladesh Embassy and all the staff members as well as the Bangladesh nationals were safe in Kuwait though they were restless following the worsening situation in the occupied state. [passage omitted]

Remittances From Mideast Workers Reduced, Economy Hit

91AS0025A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
25 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[Text] The rush of wage earners from Bangladesh to the Middle East countries has abruptly dropped by over 75 percent and the flow of remittances from Kuwait and Iraq to Bangladesh has "virtually stopped" since the beginning of the crisis in the Gulf region.

Knowledgeable circles say that if the crisis prolongs, it will have an adverse impact on the country's economy eventually leading to the price hike of the imported commodities including oil and consumer goods. If this condition persists it will prevent Bangladeshis from seeking jobs in the Gulf region.

Bangladeshis working in Kuwait and Iraq remitted around U.S.\$89.35 million and U.S.\$8.50 million respectively to their homeland last year (1989-90).

It is gathered from travel agent sources that the number of wage earners from Bangladesh to Middle East countries was between 7000 and 8000 a month till last July. Following the conflict in the Gulf region over 2000 persons recruited for jobs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE [United Arab Emirates] and Oman have postponed their departure for their working places.

It is learnt from the concerned Ministry that about 410,000 Bangladeshis have been working in different capacities in seven Middle East countries and the earnings they remitted to Bangladesh exceeded U.S.\$475 million. According to the statistics of the Bangladesh Bank, the remittance from Saudi Arabia was to the tune of U.S.\$226.71 million, from Kuwait U.S.\$89.33 million, from the UAE U.S.\$55.15 [million], from Oman U.S.\$40.58 million, from Qatar U.S.\$40.42 million, from Bahrain U.S.\$14.35 million and from Iraq U.S.\$8.50 million.

High officials of commercial banks said in the event of a full scale war in the Gulf or escalation of war over the region remittances from the countries in the region might be stopped or funnelled through unofficial channels like hundi system. And if it so happens, the country's economy will suffer a severe jolt and this will have a far reaching effect, they said.

An official of the Ministry of Commerce said, "It will be too early to make any comment at the moment on the extent of adverse effect on our import because of the volatile situation in the Gulf."

An official of the Planning Commission, on the other hand, said job situation would be very difficult if one-fourth of the Bangladeshi wage earners began to return home either out of fear or by the force of circumstances.

The Minister for Labour and Manpower Mr. Sirajul Hussain Khan said Government was trying to find alternative employments for Bangladeshi wage earners returning from Kuwait and Iraq in Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Malaysia and Singapore.

A delegation comprising representatives of the Bangladesh Association of International Recruiting Agencies (BAIRA) and Bangladesh Overseas Employment Services Ltd (BOESL) already explored employment opportunities in those countries and another delegation with the same mission will visit some African countries soon, he said.

Mideast Crisis Effects on Bangladesh Economy Discussed

91AS0019A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 26 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] Vice-President Moudud Ahmed on Saturday sought the cooperation of businessmen and traders to help overcome the situation arising out of the Middle East Crisis, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

He urged them to make imports of only essential items and at the same time discourage hoarding.

"You should not also indulge in imports to make speculative gains, Mr. Moudud said while speaking on Bangladesh's long-term economic steps in view of the situation in the Middle East at the Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FBCCI).

The Vice-President said adoption of legal measures to discourage imports of luxury and non-essential items was also being considered by the Government.

He said the country's foreign exchange reserve now stood at U.S.\$550 million and it would reach upto \$600 million by the end of this month.

Mr. Moudud said there had been no adverse impact on the foreign exchange reserve despite fall in remittances by seven to eight million dollars daily sent by Bangladeshis from Kuwait and Iraq.

Speaking on the occasion, FBCCI President Akram Hussain proposed a number of measures to avoid any adverse impact on the country's economy due to the Middle East situation.

An open discussion on the probable consequences on the country's economy due to Middle East situation was also held on the occasion.

Members of the business and trading community present at the discussion put forward a number of suggestions to help overcome in the event of any crisis and made queries.

Industries Secretary A.K.M. Mosharraf Hussain and Commerce Secretary Mokammel Huq, who were present at the time of discussion gave replies to the queries.

The Vice-President said keeping in mind the overall situation the government had already taken some steps including austerity measures to avoid any crisis.

Elaboration on the immediate impact Mr. Moudud said due to the rise in the price of crude oil Bangladesh would have to pay an additional amount of Taka 100 to 200 crore.

He said this would create an additional burden on the foreign exchange reserve and pointed out that in the current year's budget an outlay of Taka 480 crore was made for import of crude oil.

The Vice-President said with the rise in the International Shipping freight and insurance risk coverage imports would be more expensive than before. All these would also affect the secondary exchange rate he added.

The Vice-President urged the exporters to be more aggressive and make efforts to find new markets for Bangladesh products and thereby help increase the foreign exchange earning.

He said to ease the pressure on the foreign exchange reserve arrangements were also being made for trading under barter and special trading arrangements.

Mr. Moudud said decision to avoid use of power by shops and establishments at the peak hour had helped save Taka 15 lakh daily.

He, however, assured that power supply to industrial units would remain unaffected.

Turning to the human aspect of the Middle East problem, the Vice-President said the Government was doing everything possible to bring back the Bangladeshis who had crossed to the neighbouring countries from Kuwait.

He said chartering an additional aircraft was also under consideration of the Government. Mr. Moudud said a welfare and information desk had been opened at the Zia International Airport for registration of the persons who were being airlifted.

The FBCCI President, in his speech, suggested finding alternative employment opportunities for Bangladeshis in the other Gulf countries. He said Bangladesh Missions on those countries could play an effective role in this regard.

He said the BJMC [Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation] and BJMA [expansion unknown] would play a more

active role for export of jute goods specially gunny bags to meet the additional requirement under the present circumstances.

Papers Report Parties' Reactions To Mideast Crisis

Eight-Party Alliance

91AS0023A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 22 Aug 90 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] The Eight-party Alliance Tuesday condemned the Government for its decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia and termed it as violation of the Constitution.

The Alliance at a meeting held under the chairmanship of Abdus Samad Azad, Member of the Presidium of the Bangladesh Awami League resented the Government decision and said that it had pushed Bangladeshis working in Kuwait and Iraq to a dangerous situation and involved the country in the explosive Middle East situation ignoring the national interest. The meeting demanded immediate withdrawal of the decision.

The meeting of the Eight-party Alliance expressed grave concern over the mounting tension in the Gulf. It also condemned occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and demanded withdrawal of all Iraqi troops and restoration of the sovereignty of Kuwait. The meeting fully endorsed the United Nations resolutions on the issue. It simultaneously condemned the deployment of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). [passage omitted]

Bangladesh Communist Party

91AS0023B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 19 Aug 90 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The central secretariat of the Communist Party of Bangladesh [CPB] said that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was condemnable and similarly the landing of the U.S. and Western troops in Saudi Arabia and unilateral U.S. naval blockade against Iraq without the UN mandate should be equally condemned. The party also opposed Bangladesh's decision to send its troops to Saudi Arabia and take side in the Gulf crisis. CPB leaders said that withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the U.S. force from Saudi Arabia was the only solution to end the present Gulf crisis.

A group of 200 lawyers, intellectuals and members of the Society For Rule of Law in a delegation led by advocate Abdus Sobhan handed over a memorandum to the Iraqi charge d'Affaires for the safety and well being of the Bangladeshi nationals in Kuwait and Iraq. They appreciated Iraqi President Saddam Husayn for treating the stranded Bangladeshi nationals well in Kuwait and Iraq.

Bangladesh Chhatra League President and General Secretary Sattar Khan and Shamsuddin Gazi in a statement criticised the presence of the U.S. and Western troops in Saudi Arabia on the pretext of defending the kingdom

against Iraq. They protested Bangladesh's decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia which meant that the government was more eager to serve the U.S. interest than looking after the security of the Bangladeshi nationals in Kuwait, Iraq and the Middle East.

Five-Party Alliance

91AS0023C Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 16 Aug 90 p 10

[Excerpt] The Five-Party Alliance demanded withdrawal of U.S. and Western naval forces and troops from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region. It also demanded solution of the present Gulf crisis through the United Nations and discussions among the Arab countries.

Mr Rashed Khan Menon, convener of the central steering committee of the Five-Party alliance in a statement said that landing of the U.S. and Western troops in the Gulf region was against the UN and western troops was not in the interest of ending the Iraqi occupation in Kuwait but it aimed at ensuring the western interest for oil in the Middle East and support the Israeli occupation of the Arab land. He said that the U.S. and western countries took the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as a plea to serve their interest in the Gulf. He said that world had not yet forgotten the U.S. aggression on Vietnam, Granada and Latin American countries.

He also held the United States responsible for patronising Israel to invade and occupy the Palestine and Arab land. He regretted that the Saudi royal family which claimed itself as the defender of holy places of Mecca and Medina allowed the U.S. and Israeli troops to land in Saudi Arabia. [passage omitted]

National Awami Party

91AS0023D Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 19 Aug 90 p 10

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Bangladesh National Awami Party (M) [BNAP] on Wednesday condemned the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and demanded immediate withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from there.

The party simultaneously expressed its serious concern over the deployment in the Persian Gulf on the pretext of saving Saudi Arabia from Iraqi aggression. The National Awami Party also demanded withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Gulf region.

The party in a resolution adopted at the meeting of its presidium and secretariat expressed serious anxieties over the safety of all stranded Bangladeshis in Kuwait and Iraq and urged the government to take emergency measures for their quick repatriation.

The meeting of the National Awami Party reviewed the latest political and economic situation obtaining in the country. In a resolution the meeting also observed one

minute's silence as a mark of respect to Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the occasion of his 15th anniversary of death.

Surge of Shanti Bahini Attacks in Chittagong Hills

91AS0015A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 27 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] Agartala, 26 Aug (The Times of India News Service)—The familiar cycle of Shanti Bahini's guerrilla offensive and the Bangladesh army's reprisals continues in the Chittagong hill tracts (CHT) of southeastern Bangladesh.

Breaking a nine-month-long lull in operations, the insurgent Shanti Bahini gunned down 18 persons, including 15 Bangladesh army personnel, besides capturing a large arms cache in three successive operations last week.

Reports from across the border said in a three-pronged attack on the Laugang-Barthal areas in Pcherri sub-district on 12 August, the Bahini gunned down 10 army personnel posted at the Roopsenkarbari army camp and three other plainland resettlers of the nearby village.

The reports said 15 non-tribal families had been resettled by the Bangladesh government in this area early this month. As part of the ongoing scheme, large tracts of land left behind by tribals, who have taken shelter in refugee camps in south Tripura and some of whom had been forcibly herded into collective villages, were redistributed among the plainland resettler families.

On 11 August, the Bahini attacked the newly-set up Shakracherri army camp in Dighinala sub-district and shot dead five army personnel.

In the last week of July, a detachment belonging to the special task force of the Bahini raided the Amtali waterways under Rangamati district and captured 10 sophisticated weapons after killing an unspecified number of jawans belonging to the waterways protection group.

Sources from Bangladesh said the latest Bahini offensive was aimed at checking the settlement of Bengali Muslims from the plainland under government protection to reduce the tribals to a minority.

According to reports, the Bangladesh government has been pursuing a policy of resettling plainlanders with renewed vigour ever since the setting up of three fake district councils in the CHTs on 25 June last year.

Emboldened by the change of government in India and the conciliatory tone of the external affairs minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral, during his visit to Bangladesh in February, the President, Mr. M. Ershad's military regime, has launched a fresh programme of settling plainland Muslims in the CHT.

Significantly, in the name of protecting the rehabilitated families from Bahini offensive, Bangladesh has shifted

hundreds of tribals from these areas to artificially create cluster villages. According to one estimate, over 2,000 tribal families have so far been herded into collective villages over the past two months while tribal land had been redistributed among fresh plainland resettlers.

Interestingly, the three army-controlled district councils have approved an outlay of 3.23-crore Bangladesh taka (40 percent of the total outlay) for the villages indicating continued creation of more such villages to isolate the tribals from their original habitat and contract with the Bahini.

Delayed reports said on 27 June, 300 plainland resettlers, backed by 200 Bangladesh army jawans, encircled the Tripuri tribal-dominated Maniramkarbari Para and Rashidhan Para villages in Chengi valley and resorted to massive arson and pillage.

All the tribal villagers were forcibly taken away to the Chimara collective villages, about eight km away, under Matiranga sub-district.

Similarly, tribals from 10 other villages were shifted to collective and cluster villages in different places of the hill tracts and the vacant land redistributed among plainland Muslims.

Contrary to the Bangladesh government's commitment of handing over considerable powers to the district councils, all affairs pertaining to the councils are being controlled by the army. The army authorities recently directed the tribal people in the Pancherri, Dighinal, Khagracherri and Rangamati district areas to move with identity cards. A thorough search and checking of tribal households is made every two weeks.

Officials Expelled From Bangladesh Muslim League

91AS0020A Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*
in English 20 Aug 90 p 3

[Text] Bangladesh Muslim League (Kazi Quader), in a meeting Sunday, expelled party Vice-President Kamruzzaman Khan, Secretary General Muhammad Ayenuddin and Treasurer M.A. Salam from the party on charges of indiscipline and activities against the party constitution, a party Press release said, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

The meeting, presided over by Kazi Abdul Quader, observed that the visit of the representatives of Bangladesh Muslim Millat to Pakistan was a bold step for consolidating the independence and sovereignty of Bangladesh and expanding the brotherhood of Muslim Ummah. The co-operation of Pakistan and other Muslim countries would consolidate and cement further the independence of Bangladesh, the meeting observed.

Earlier, a group of Muslim League leaders, led by Muhammad Ayenuddin, Kamruzzaman Khan, M.A. Salam and Khalequzzaman Khan quit Muslim League

led by Kazi Abdul Quader and formed an ad-hoc committee of the party on 17 August protesting against the visit of party leaders to Pakistan.

Muhammad Ayenuddin and M.A. Salam were made President and Secretary General of the ad-hoc committee of Muslim League.

INDIA

V.P. Singh Addresses Minority Leaders' Conference

91AS0014A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
12 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] New Delhi, 11 Aug—The Prime Minister today said he was "prepared to go to the people" on the contentious issue of Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi to explain to them that the question cannot be left open, that if no solution could be found which was acceptable to both the communities, the court verdict must be respected and upheld. He reiterated categorically that while continuing his efforts to find an acceptable solution, his Government, the Janata Dal and the National Front were committed to stand by the judicial verdict.

Addressing the first national conference of minority leaders and intellectuals to be organised by the Government, Mr. V.P. Singh said the judiciary was above the Prime Minister and the government, and that if a dispute could not be settled between the two religious groups, the court's verdict would have to be accepted. What other way could there be of settling a dispute which two communities claimed to be a matter of faith for them, he asked. He admitted that so far his efforts to settle the matter had not been successful as there had been only a slight shift in the stand of the parties involved.

He touched upon a number of issues relating to the minorities. He said that by 15 September he hoped that all selection boards of public sector undertakings and Central Government selection boards would have a minority community member on them. The Cabinet had yesterday discussed the question of giving statutory powers to the Minority Commission, he said, and added that he was hopeful that his Government could do something about this. He also warned that the Mandal Commission recommendations which had been accepted by the Government would not necessarily lead to the economic uplift of the Backward Classes. But it had opened the door, even if slightly, to the power structure in the Government. The bureaucracy was very much a part of this power structure and through the reservations announced, the Backward Classes would be able to make their voice heard.

Mr. V.P. Singh acknowledged that there would be difficulties as a result of the reservation policy—he referred to reports of trouble in some States as a result of this—but he was confident that the Government would be able to handle and control the situation. He said it

needed some courage to take this decision, and added that his government was fully committed to the welfare of minorities and other depressed sections of the population.

Later, when speaker after speaker got up to participate in the open house discussion the fallout of the Mandal Commission recommendations was evident as they demanded that the minorities should also be given reservation in jobs as justice could be done to them only through reservation.

The one-day conference held here is being attended by minority community Members of Parliament [MPs] irrespective of their party affiliations, members of the Minority Commission, academicians, intellectuals and leaders of groups and parties representing minority interests. The Parliament House Annexe where it was held was more than full to capacity. The Prime Minister assured those attending the conference that the Government would give serious thought to the suggestions made by them and that in a few months' time he would meet them again to review the situation. He readily agreed with a suggestion from Syed Shahbuddin of Insaf Party, that Parliament devote one day to the problems of minorities.

Communal Riots

The question of security of the minorities, the recurring riots and atrocities being committed on members of these communities, came up repeatedly in the open house discussion. While the Prime Minister had said in his opening address that the feeling of security was all important, that the composite culture of the country was its most precious inheritance, many other speakers suggested the formation of a special riot police with 50 percent representation from the minorities. Others wanted at least 10 percent recruitment from the minorities in the police and one speaker reminded the Prime Minister that almost 15 years ago it had been suggested that the Collector of a district should be made answerable if a riot in his area continued for more than a few days. A suggestion made by several participants was that restrictions on minority educational institutions be removed.

Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan, Minister for Labour and Welfare, earlier said the Government would soon be tabling the report of the Dr. Gopal Singh Commission in Parliament and also that four previous reports of the Minority Commission would be placed before MPs.

Advani: BJP Ready for Snap Election

90AS0474A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 3 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Surat, September 2—The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] is getting ready for a snap poll. The party president, Mr L.K. Advani, said at a news conference here today that though his party was unwilling to inflict a

heavy economic burden on the nation with a mid-term poll, the party was well prepared if circumstances demanded it.

The three-day meeting at Bhopal from September 14 of some BJP MPs [members of Parliament] and MLAs [members of Legislative Assembly] will be an exercise with a mid-term poll in mind. Mr Advani said the meeting would examine threadbare the party leaders' performances in preserving the party's poll promises. [as published]

"We will review our work in and out of Parliament and inform people how we worked to keep our promises. But one thing is clear. We go with a clean conscience because the BJP is the only party that has not deviated itself even an inch from its avowed principles promises," he stressed.

The meeting will also discuss how the party workers and leaders can contribute to the "kar seva" being conducted at Ayodhya on October 30.

The party chief was here to attend the three-day BJP women workers' workshop. The workshop, attended by some 500 BJP women activists from different states, concluded today.

Lambasting the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, for keeping his allies in the dark on the Mandal commission report, Mr Advani said that he had not yet been invited to the all-party meeting proposed at Delhi on Monday on the implementation of the report. According to him, there was no point in the party attending the meeting as the Prime Minister insisted that there would be no dilution in the report.

"There is no unanimity among the partners of the National Front on the Mandal recommendations." What the BJP and the communist parties wanted was to include the economic criterion as the main plank for executing the OBC [official backward classes] reservation. "We are not against it," he emphasised.

The BJP president wanted to make it clear that the party would not attend the all-party meeting if the whole Mandal report was not reviewed. Mr Advani called it dangerous the promise of the Prime Minister that his government would also consider reservation for religious minorities.

"We will be sowing the seeds of another secession if we accept it. We hope that the Congress, too, would not agree to this sinister plan. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had worked over-time to see that the country was not divided on religious lines."

There was no threat to the Janata Dal government from the BJP. The threat to the party (Janata Dal) came from within due to the silly policies of the government.

Concerns Over U.S. Presence in Persian Gulf Told

91AS0013A Madras THE HINDU in English
12 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Aug—Regardless of the wrongs and rights of the Indian policy since the early 1970s, what, according to officials and analysts in New Delhi, has been a matter of some concern is the presence of large external military powers in the Indian Ocean region. And, by not addressing itself to this basic issue, Indian policy appears to have lost its moorings.

The inability of India and the other large countries to set out a clearcut policy framework has enabled the United States and the Western military alliance to take the lead in the current Gulf crisis. This is the second time in the last five years that the Western alliance has involved itself militarily in the region, the first time being 1986-87 when a vast armada was sent to check Iran. Here despite the changed circumstances, the Soviet Union has shown one alternative—the demand for military consultations through the provisions enshrined in the UN Charter, a policy that India could well have pushed for without any loss of prestige.

Though, in the latest case, the action of Iraq in annexing Kuwait is clearly wrong, it cannot but be forgotten that on the previous occasions, the U.S. justification for its intervention was not all that unambiguous. In fact the lessening tension between the two superpowers ought to bring into relief the fact that in the Eighties, the region was the focus of U.S. intervention which usually was without justification in international law. The bombing of Libya in 1986, the intervention in Lebanon in 1983-84 and the Gulf action could not have been because of the Kremlin, but only in the U.S. self-interest. The fight in the Gulf is for the right to control oil and not for democracy since the King of Saudi Arabia and the Emir of Kuwait are as much despots as Mr Saddam Husayn is.

At present according to information available, the United States has, besides the Joint Task Force Middle East of nine ships, two carrier battle groups stationed off the Gulf and one in the Mediterranean. Despite pre-positioning of equipment, it will take some time for the United States to have a battle-ready force of 200,000 in the area. It will in all likelihood use its technological edge and air power to knock out the Iraqi Air Force. The U.S. populace will not take kindly to a war which brings casualties to American families. Therefore the United States would like Iraq to back off through the embargo and, failing this, it would much rather use Arab to fight Arab.

In these circumstances, according to officials here, India has to be clear that the present changes on the global scene may actually be negative since the big powers are attempting to arrogate the right to dictate who is right and who is wrong and for that matter the exclusive right to wage war. The implications—unstated, but worrying

the decision makers—are that, should India be compelled to defend itself against Pakistani adventurism, the Western alliance, already maintaining a strong presence in the neighbourhood, may compel it to back off as was attempted by the USS Enterprise incident in 1971.

Stand on Alleviation of Mideast Crisis Discussed

Position on UN Decisions

90AS0475A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
4 Sep 90 p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Sept. 3—India has written to the five permanent members of the Security Council that the consultation process on the Gulf crisis be broadened so as to include others vitally affected by its fall-out.

In identical letters to the five governments—the U.S., Soviet Union, U.K., France and China—the External Affairs Minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral has suggested that a conference, under the U.N. auspices, of the permanent members of the Security Council and other countries concerned with the crisis could be a good forum to explore ways for defusing the escalated situation. The expanded effort, envisaged by him, is intended to be within the framework of the U.N. with its new status and a new credibility as a result of the big-power detente and related factors.

The decisions already taken by the U.N. council, according to India's thinking, will continue to serve as the basis for discussions. But while there is no desire to moot parallel ideas or work for an autonomous regime, strategies could be re-adjusted in the interest of the objective. The intention, it also appears to have been made clear, is not to condone the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but to see that the affected regions—the Gulf area and South Asia—benefit from the positive trends of the post-cold war era.

India, like other countries of the Indian Ocean and South Asia, is greatly concerned by the dangers posed by the Gulf developments on several counts. One, there is the danger of destabilising trends spreading to India's vicinity. Two, Indians account for the largest number of foreigners in Kuwait—1.70 lakhs—and their problems and woes have been compounded since the trouble erupted four weeks ago. India has accepted the Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq but would like the supplies of foodgrains and medicines to be exempted from the embargo—especially because its nationals are badly hit by shortages.

As New Delhi sees it, the present crisis, with its many disturbing dimensions, calls for a broad security concept which could be fitted into what the permanent five have in mind. India is all for an Arab initiative, of the type undertaken by King Hussein of Jordan, but the crisis also affects the other regions and hence the need for involving them, according to New Delhi.

The non-aligned movement [NAM], too, appear getting ready for moves to explore ways for defusing the tensions. This is the meaning of the meeting in Belgrade on September 7 of the Foreign Ministers of India, Yugoslavia, current Chairman, and Algeria, the next Chairman. What emerges out of their discussions is hard to say but the effort will be worth its while.

It will serve to end the initial phase of mutual suspicion, if not recrimination. India appeared to ascribe the perceived inactivity of the NAM to the shift in the interest of its Chairman, Yugoslavia, to Europe and the EEC. Belgrade was seen as giving different slants to the crisis in different camps—to New Delhi, it gave the impression of stout opposition to a military solution or unilateral action, of support to routing all steps through the U.N. and to the West, it spoke of its efforts in bringing about a consensus among the non-aligned in denouncing Iraq.

In Belgrade, on the other hand, there was a strong feeling that India had been less than equivocal in its condemnation of the Iraqi aggression. Denying suggestions that it, as the NAM chairman, had not responded promptly to the Gulf crisis, Yugoslavia narrated the steps taken by it after the Iraqi invasion—the meeting convened by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Budimir Loncar on August 2 of the Ambassadors of the non-aligned countries in Belgrade to express concern over the Iraqi action, the meeting of the non-aligned coordination bureau in New York on August 3, which denounced the attack on Kuwait and called for an immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from there, another meeting of the non-aligned ambassadors in Belgrade on August 16, and a statement on August 17, expressing profound concern over the 'continued serious aggravation of the situation in the Gulf region,' and calling for large-scale action through the U.N. "the right framework to express international solidarity."

The phase of mutual suspicions and reservations seem to be over—hopefully.

Regional Role Seen for SAARC

90AS0475B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
4 Sep 90 p 9

[Article by F.J. Khergamvala]

[Text] Manama (Bahrain), Sept 3—To overcome any dubious Western criticism about New Delhi contemplating an emergency shipment of essential foodstuff and medicines to stranded Indians in Kuwait, India should try and get the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] members aboard for what is essentially a humanitarian move which in no way aids the Iraqi war effort or breaks the U.N. approved sanctions imposed on Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait.

All the SAARC countries, with the possible exception of Bhutan, have people in Kuwait waiting to get out. The numbers vary from country to country but their financial

predicament is identical with the majority being workers. Bangladesh for instance has about half of its 70,000 nationals who have not yet managed to move to points in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan or Iran to be shipped home. Pakistan too is in a similar situation.

It needs to be stressed that those making the long journeys to such transshipment points are mostly hardy young men. Unlike the propaganda-privileged women and children of the West who fly out directly home from Baghdad, Asians have to withstand the shortages in Kuwait, until lesser tortuous means of travel are assured. And then who is bothering about the poor though limited number from the Maldives and Nepal or the 60,000 maids from Sri Lanka?

India might well be subjected to some pretty biased moral judgements from the West for trying to send foodstuff and medicine to Kuwait. Getting Pakistan and Bangladesh to join is one way of overcoming Western objections. Both have contributed to the so-called "multinational force" positioned in the Gulf and this would surely lend greater moral weight in countering possible charges that the sanctions against Iraq are being ignored.

Source of supply: This coordination could take a little time pending which India needs to go ahead anyway. To overcome bureaucratic delays in various Asian capitals about the source of supply, Dubai could be considered as the point from where supplies could be lifted but only after ensuring that the UAE [United Arab Emirates] will not prevent their loading. It should be very easy for the SAARC country missions in Dubai to arrange such a consignment of essential food and medicines.

Clubbed with this effort, if such coordination is at all possible, mutual assistance in airlifting the old and infirm, women and children could also be effected. A Bangladesh ambassador in West Asia said this morning that "it is extremely difficult for us to do this on our own," despite reports that people from Bangladesh have been facing little problem getting out.

A FINANCIAL TIMES report from New Delhi described the reaction of "major western embassies" in New Delhi as saying there was no real hardship in Kuwait and that such an Indian move would be flouting the sanctions. The logic of this is odd. It implies that Indian supplies could be justified if there was real hardship and by extension that would not be sanctions busting. Then what one might ask is the purpose of sanctions.

So far as the know all "major western embassies" view about the shortages in Kuwait, here is a quote from Mr. Joseph B. Treaster who accompanied the Rev. Jesse Jackson to Baghdad and filed his report after visiting Kuwait. "The city is completely abnormal. Food is not available as it was before, beverages too. And the pharmacies are closed." One of the western women who just arrived in Washington said "only bread and canned goods are available. The rest is gone."

Shortages in Iraq: Needless to emphasise, Asian labourers do not have freezers to stock up nor can they afford eating canned food, let alone hoard them. Interestingly to prove its point that sanctions have begun to sting, the western media has been highlighting rationing and food shortages in Iraq, the Iraqi president, Mr. Saddam Husayn, must indeed be a very generous man to tolerate shortages and encourage belt tightening at home while ensuring that there is no hardship in Kuwait.

In a situation such as the present, every nation is feathering its own nest. Libya and Jordan have refused to comply with the sanctions in so far as food is concerned. The reason the British Prime Minister, Ms. Margaret Thatcher put forward to continue trade with South Africa was that the poor Blacks would be affected. She knew better than the black leaders there. The West should make up its mind. Either you have western solidarity or global solidarity. After the West criticised the Austrian president, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for getting his people out, one could very well ask why the West continues to carp only about the importance of western lives in Iraq and Kuwait. Asked for action, everybody looked the other way when Indians were being ejected from Fiji.

Indian public opinion is unlikely to take it lightly if New Delhi balks at its responsibility toward Indians in Kuwait. With or without SAARC the supplies must be sent. Admittedly some will fall into Iraqi hands but the flip side is that the ill among several hundreds of thousands of all nationalities, including westerners, will have access at least to drugs if not 4,000 calories of daily nourishment.

Gujral in Parliament

90AS0475C Madras THE HINDU in English
28 Aug 90 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 27—The External Affairs Minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral, today ruled out any "self-appointed" mediatory role for India in the current Gulf crisis till it had felt the ground by talking to like-minded nations and strongly justified its "reasonable and low-profile" reaction to Iraq's annexation of Kuwait.

Replying to a special discussion in the Lok Sabha on the crisis, Mr. Gujral said India's policy towards the developments in West Asia was to ensure peace, evacuate its people, lessen the difficulties it would face and see that the region did not explode in a war.

Reiterating the Government's resolve to do all it could to repatriate Indians wishing to leave the region, Mr. Gujral said the country would welcome "every voice of sanity" and all efforts to bring about a rational and non-military solution to the crisis.

Mr. Gujral declared that India stood for the unity of the Arab people, with whom it had always had close relations and did not wish to drive a wedge among them at a difficult time in their history.

Alert to the situation: Taking strong exception to criticism in the House that the Government had not yet formulated its responses to the crisis, Mr. Gujral said foreign policy could not be dictated by a set of "mantra." "We are gradually finding our moorings and seeing where we should intervene. We are extremely alert and keeping our ears close to the ground," he said. "We shall not be found wanting when history is being written," he declared.

Mr. Gujral said the Gulf crisis would be uppermost on the agenda when 15 non-aligned movement (NAM) members meet in Belgrade next month, though the meeting was originally convened for discussing changes taking place in the post-cold war era.

Mr. Gujral said India's vested interests lay in defusing the crisis and avoiding a war, which had grave implications for both the region and Indians.

'Vituperation never helps': Mr. Gujral said it would have been easy for India to condemn the Iraqi action but it would not have solved anything or facilitated the evacuation of Indians from the troubled region. Arguing that vituperation never helped, Mr. Gujral said members should appreciate the constraints and parameters within which the Government had to operate.

"The issue is not apportioning blame but how to defuse the crisis and I am addressing myself to it," he said. He disapproved of the military solution being sought by some countries and was still hopeful of a de-escalation of tensions.

Mr. Gujral said India's low-profile reaction to the crisis did not in any way condone the Iraqi action. The Government continued to recognise Kuwait and the continued functioning of the Kuwaiti Embassy in Delhi was a proof of this, he said.

He said India had no option but to close down its embassy in Kuwait in deference to Iraq's wishes. India would have gained nothing by defying the orders and the mission staff could not have serviced its nationals, he said.

At the outset, Mr. Gujral said he shared the agony of the relatives of Indians working in Kuwait, particularly those in Kerala, where "every home and hearth is affected."

Four AI [Air India] sorties daily: Mr. Gujral said Air India was making four sorties daily from Amman to evacuate Indians who had reached the Jordanian capital. Some 6,000 Indians were already in Amman and more were on their way, he said. Similarly, about 10,000 Indians had reached Baghdad and were waiting to be repatriated, he said.

Mr. Gujral said difficulties had arisen in operating civilian flights to Baghdad to clear the rush, mainly about insurance cover. The Government had decided to send Air Force aircraft but route clearance in this regard was yet to come from Iran, he said.

Explaining that the Government was willing to deploy as many aircraft as possible for repatriation of Indians, Mr. Gujral said difficulties were being faced in getting permission from authorities about the airports to be used. India was still awaiting permission from Teheran to use its seaports for the purpose, he said.

At the same time, Mr. Gujral said it was important that an atmosphere of panic was not created because it was in India's interest that a large number of its workers continued to be employed in West Asia.

India was also in touch with the big powers to facilitate the sending of a shipload of food to Indians and other foreigners in Kuwait. Food shortages could become a big problem in the immediate future, he said.—UNI

Conclusions of Sino-India Border Talks Noted

90AS0473A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Sept. 1 (PTI)—India and China today agreed to a mechanism under which their military personnel will meet to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas.

This was a major decision taken at the second meeting of the foreign secretary-level India-China joint working group on the boundary question.

An external affairs ministry spokesman said military personnel of the two countries would meet from time to time.

The joint working group, the spokesman said, discussed certain principles and parameters which should govern an overall settlement of the sensitive boundary question.

Both sides agreed not to take any steps which might increase tensions in bilateral ties.

"The effort is to adopt a practical and realistic approach and to look to the future," the spokesman said.

The third meeting of the joint working group would be held in Beijing early next year.

The Chinese vice-foreign minister, Mr. Qi Huaiyuan, called on the Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, and was told that India was looking forward to the premier, Mr. Li Peng's visit this year.

The external affairs minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral, is scheduled to pay an official visit to China next month.

The spokesman said during the joint working group meeting, the two sides enhanced significantly their understanding of each other's approaches to the solution of the boundary question.

The two sides expressed the hope that by working in a sincere manner they would be able to establish a basis for the solution of the boundary question as well as maintaining peace and tranquility in border areas.

Mr. Qi and the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, also took the opportunity to discuss ways and means of further improving bilateral ties and reviewed regional and international issues.

It was agreed to substantially increase the number of scholarships available to Indian and Chinese students for the pursuit of higher studies and research in each other's country under the forthcoming review of the cultural exchange programme for 1991-93.

Paper Reports Developments in Akali Dal-Mann

Leader Retracts Resignation

91AS0032A *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 26 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by Surinder Awasthi]

[Text] Dalhousie, 25 August—Mr S.S. Mann has withdrawn his resignation from the presidentship of Akali Dal (Mann) and the Lok Sabha membership.

Seven of nine members of the commission appointed by the executive on Thursday to persuade Mr. Mann met him here yesterday. They were able to persuade Mr. Mann to withdraw his resignation in the larger interests of the party and the Sikh community.

Mr. Mann had resigned on Tuesday following certain allegations levelled by the pro-Pakistan Panthic committee, headed by Dr. Sohan Singh. He had sent in his resignation to the party's senior vice-president, Mr. Tarlok Singh.

The outlawed Panthic committee had alleged that Mr. Mann was motivated by lust for power and followed a dual policy of appeasing the militants on one hand and hob-nobbing with the government on the other. Mr. Mann had, however, refuted all the allegations.

An emergency meeting of the party executive, held at Chandigarh on Thursday, had rejected Mr. Mann's resignation. Mr. Mann did not attend the meeting.

Change in Election Strategy

91AS0032B *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 30 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Amritsar, 29 August—In a major shift in policy, the Akali Dal (Mann) has decided to boycott elections to the state assembly or any other elections under the

present constitutional set-up. The party will only participate in a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations to exercise the Sikhs' right to self-determination.

This decision was taken at the meeting of the party executive and district jathedars held at the party headquarters in the Golden Temple complex here yesterday. Fourteen resolutions passed at the meeting were released by the press secretary, Prof Jagmohan Singh Tony, here today.

Interestingly, the panthic committee, headed by Dr. Sohan Singh, had categorically stated that it would have no truck with any individual or party clamouring for power through the electoral process. It had also levelled serious charges against Mr. Mann and his party.

Instead of refuting the allegations, Mr. Mann quit the party post and his membership of the Lok Sabha to prove his bona fides.

The party's somersault yesterday is viewed in the context of a veiled threat and open criticism of the party by the militants, partial retraction of the allegations subsequently and recognising the sacrifices of Mr. Mann by the panthic committee.

Mr. Mann had organised a month-long march from 25 May to protest against the delay in holding elections to the state assembly and extending President's rule in Punjab.

Describing "Operation Bluestar" as the "first war of independence of the Sikhs," the Akali Dal (Mann) yesterday resolved that by the "unabashed military aggression" on Punjab in June 1984 and violating international laws and accepted human rights, the government had closed all options before the Sikhs but for the right to self-determination.

It described the Prime Minister's proposed padyatra in Punjab as a "mere farce" and took strong exception to the veiled threat given by him to "use brute force against the Sikhs."

In another resolution, the party warned the Akali Dal (B) leader, Captain Amarinder Singh, not to accept chief ministership if the Punjab assembly was revived. The assembly had lost the mandate of the people but the Central government "is hell-bent on killing the democratic process and revive the assembly," the resolution added. The party decided to launch an agitation and fight "such an attempt tooth and nail."

The party executive also authorised Mr. Mann to seek an explanation from the Prime Minister on the action taken on the issues discussed during the last three meetings with him.

Bill on Special Powers to Forces in Kashmir Passed

91AS0047A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
22 Aug 90 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 21: The home minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, today ruled out any dialogue with any organizations indulging violence in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Mufti was replying to a two-hour debate in the Lok Sabha on the Bill seeking to confer special powers to the armed forces in the disturbed areas of the state. The House later passed the Bill rejecting all amendments. The Lok Sabha also approved the ordinance of July 18, imposing President's rule in the state. Two BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] members—Mr G.L. Bhargava and Mr Rajendra Agnihotri—withdrew their amendments seeking abrogation of Article 370 which confers special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The home minister said that the Bill was being brought as a special measure to boost the moral of the security forces in the state.

He said that the Prime Minister himself was monitoring the situation in Jammu and Kashmir regularly and India was not going to compromise on the question of its integrity and sovereignty. It was in this context that the government sought to equip the Army with more powers and hoped that the Army, as it has always been would remain above board.

He felt that involvement of army personnel in some incidents should not be generalized. There was not much protest in the House from the main Opposition as far contents of the Bill were concerned.

The National Conference member, Mr P.L. Handoo's suggestion that the Army should not be used against the people if they were waging the war against the local government, was rejected as his amendment to the effect was voted out.

The Mufti's speech in the House found some words of praise for the former governor, Mr Jagmohan, as he said, "I want to congratulate Mr Jagmohan because he as Governor, had succeeded in providing a nucleus to the national forces in the valley in the fight against terrorists."

Moulvi Farooq's killers (which resulted in Mr Jagmohan's removal as governor) had been identified and they would soon be arrested. The home minister said there was no relaxation in the move against secessionists as raids searches and seizures were continuing. More than 600 infiltrators had been arrested. So far 197 infiltrators had been killed in encounters with the Army.

The Mufti did not say anything clear if there was a possibility of the political process being revived. Alienation was there in 1973 as well but it was never at this scale, he said. In an emotional appeal to the House, he

said at a time when Pakistan was creating a situation to ensure that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir went beyond control, narrow political considerations should not divide the House.

"Even my blood must be boiling. After all I have been in politics of the state right since 1959 and I have never uttered a slogan against the national interest. I have held the tricolor with these hands," he said adding that he would be the last person to want the people in the state being subjected to the atrocities of the armed forces.

He said the move had been a necessity as a campaign of disinformation had been launched against the government as well as the armed forces. He said a BBC correspondent who had gone to interview some women allegedly raped by the armed forces, withdrew after he realized that the women were going to give a concocted and tutored version to him.

Haryana: Commentary Criticizes Politicking

90AS0456A New Delhi *JANSATTA* in Hindi
3 Sep 90 p 6

[Text] The political style of Haryana is again showing its color. Eleven legislators who had earlier campaigned to oust the chief minister, Hukum Singh, have become his supporters again overnight. Om Prakash Chautala, while producing 10 of them before journalists, claimed that the chief minister had gained an absolute majority as a result of this. He hopes that the rest of the dissatisfied legislators will also be back in the fold very soon. Just a day earlier the rebel legislators, under the leadership of Banarasi Das Gupta, had repeated their demand to the prime minister to remove the chief minister. The eleven legislators who now have become supporters of Hukum Singh were also part of the delegation. The prime minister told the legislators that there should be no more changes in the leadership in Haryana, although in an earlier meeting he had already asserted that it was a right of the legislators to select or make changes in the leadership. Because of this change in his attitude, a situation of uncertainty has arisen before the dissatisfied legislators. But, the events of the following day threw cold water on their hopes. From the time of the revolt against Hukum Singh under the leadership of Banarasi Das Gupta, both groups began to hide their respective legislators in secret places in order to keep them away from others. Some of the legislators were almost imprisoned in hotels in Delhi, while others were dispatched on an all India tour. However, on 30 August, at night, the Chautala camp eventually did succeed in kidnapping the legislators from the back door of a Delhi hotel in almost a raid type activity. Now there are only 20 legislators among the opponents of Chautala, including the eight who have no right to vote because of having been ousted from the party.

This is not the first event of this kind in Haryana. This state can be credited with giving birth to "Ayaram-Gayaram" politics (i.e., crossing the floor too frequently for petty personal gains), exemplified by the overnight

changing of party affiliation by a whole cabinet of ministers. This kind of politicking has been utilized by both the Congress as well as Janata Dal. In order to meet the challenge of a no-confidence vote, former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir and her opposing parties also had made use of this very Haryana style of politicking. The 11 legislators supporting Chief Minister Hukum Singh have expressed their thankfulness to the prime minister as well as to Bommai, the Janata Dal party chief, for giving them correct advice. It is clear that neither of the central leaders might have explicitly suggested that the legislators join the Chautala faction; however, the legislators made no mistake in guessing the change in the attitude of the central leaders. If the prime minister was not prepared to remove the chief minister, there was no scope of benefitting from a revolt. For them, the issue did not involve any principle; it involved only political gain or loss. For the central leaders of Janata Dal there is no further justification of any revolt against Chautala. An announcement to carry out the recommendations of the Mandal Commission is proving to be a useful means to isolate Devi Lal. Therefore, there is rather an apprehension of loss than a hope of gain in destabilizing Devi Lal's government in Haryana. It is clear that the chief minister is going to reward the legislators who have returned back to him. This is why he has announced that he will be expanding his cabinet. One of the demands of the insurgent legislators was that those who had been ousted from the party should be taken back. It is possible that some kind of compromise may be worked out even in this regard between the high command and Chautala. The matter was placed before the one-man disciplinary commission of Babul Reddy, which recommended to repeal the orders against only three of the legislators. Again, in the matter of selecting a member of the upper house of parliament also there will be an impact of this dramatic change. It all depends upon a compromise between Chautala and Bommai as to who between Khurshid Ahmed and Ranjeet Singh, the younger son of Devi Lal, will be getting the party ticket for membership.

Commentary Says Pakistan, Democracy Mutually Exclusive

90AS0425A *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*
13 Aug 90 p 5

[Article by Rajendra Mathur: "Democracy Will Make an India Out of Pakistan"]

[Text] Democracy is not able to hold Pakistan, while on the other hand there is no other cement in the world than democracy that can hold India. What conclusion can one draw from this? It is that sovereignty in Pakistan cannot be entrusted to its people while there is no other option than entrusting sovereignty to the people in India.

Pakistan, like Islam, Marxism, or like Manu Smriti, is an ideology. If you impose plebiscite on this ideology every five years and consign it to the storms of election; again,

if you give crazy public opinions the right to make modifications in it, then what is going to happen to the poor ideology?

If one has to secure the votes of the oppressed Jatavas on Manu Smriti what will happen to Manu Smriti? If the shadow of the vote bank of the kulakas [wealthy peasant farmers] would have been allowed to fall on Stalin's program of collective farming what would have happened to the ideology of Marxism? And, if in reality our neighbor is left to its public opinion what will happen to its Islam-based nationalism?

In order to maintain and promote an ideology it is necessary to keep the masses at a distance and to allow only those selected people to rule who have a blind faith in the ideology. These selected few do not derive authority to rule from the masses. Their ideology is born of the brains of the Brahmins directly, as are the Vedas. It is the duty of the devotees thriving on religious fanaticism not to permit any kind of modification in the ideology.

The selected few who have been running Pakistan since its inception have belonged to either the military, or to the civil service, or to the orthodox Islamic leadership. From among them all, the military has had the most important role, and it still does. Because of the selection process in the military, its method of discipline, and its association with the fate of Pakistan, it is the military which has become a church for Pakistan—a warring and regional church. Waging a war with India cannot be a permanent religious practice for the people of Pakistan. However, it forms a permanent religious practice for Pakistan's ideology that cannot be maintained by anybody other than the military. And, as India's people have been accepting a society of four basic castes for years, likewise, the people of Pakistan have also accepted militarism protected by its ideology. It takes a lot of time for the people to attain and practice democracy. Until that time, it is the ideology that provides them with some comfort.

The people who want to turn India into a Hindu nation will have to think whether or not we have any well-defined and all-agreed ideology to practice. Also, whether or not we would like to entrust its patronage to a selected regional group.

This does not mean that an ideology has no relevance. If this were so, why would so many ideologies dominate the planet Earth and why were Christ, Buddha, Mohammad, or Marx born? But, because of science changes are taking place so rapidly in the 20th century that it has become very difficult for any ideology to stay as a fixed axis or a light house. Moreover, Hinduism is not one axis. It is a combination of several and varied axes. Therefore, this quality (or weakness) of Hinduism makes the country more suitable for democracy as well as for the modern world. It is neither possible nor proper to become a Muslim at the last hour by giving up our inherent weakness, and to look for an ideology and adhering to it.

But, those who want to run the country on the axis of Hinduism want to do exactly that.

India is a country that has a military and the role of the military is secondary. Pakistan is a military that has a country and the role of the country is secondary. It is the military that is a country there. The reason for this is that Pakistan is not a nation, it is an anti-nation as though it is not a matter it is an anti-matter. It is the name of a principle to break and divide India, it is not a name of a country. If Pakistan becomes a country, if it becomes a democratic republic, it will more or less become an India. But because Pakistan is the name of a principle to break India and also because this is the fundamental formula of its ideology, it is the military that forms the country there since the military alone can be a tangible symbol for the principle of breaking India. On this plane there can be no co-existence between India and Pakistan. In order to coexist Pakistan will have to become a country in reality.

Pakistani Press Comments, Chances for Guerrilla War Viewed

90AS0425B New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi
19-25 Aug 90 p 13

[Article by Manmohan Talkh: "Has War Become Inevitable? Plans To Start Guerrilla Warfare Against India"]

[Text] Whatever happens in Kashmir on 15 August and the events that take place there afterwards will decide whether or not there will be a war between India and Pakistan. It appears as if war is inevitable. A statement by the prime minister of so-called "Azad Kashmir," the part of Kashmir under Pakistani occupation, is published in an Urdu daily, NAWA-I-WAQT, and in JANG in which it has been mentioned that some 11,000 trained Kashmiris will cross the line of actual control on 15 August and will begin guerrilla warfare against the Indian Army.

Planned attacks on the Indian Army have been continuing for the last 10 days. As such, India is fighting a war even at present, as our brave soldiers are being injured in these attacks. If there is any other definition of war it is not known to us.

In regard to these 11,000 trained raiders the Indian Army's sources suggest that they might even be equipped with stinger missiles. Even at present Indian Army squads are under attack with rockets. But, if stinger missiles are used there is no doubt that our army will be forced to counter this effectively and use sophisticated weapons against them. As a result, Pakistan will get an opportunity to propagate throughout the world that a situation like that of Palestine has been created in Kashmir also. This means that all possible attempts will be made to put international pressure on India. Under such circumstances it is impossible to guess for how long an all-out war could be averted.

The fact that a war may be unavoidable is also evident from Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's fresh statement published in the English dailies THE PAKISTAN TIMES, DAWN, and THE MUSLIM, and also in other Urdu newspapers. According to the news published, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, while addressing naval cadets and officers in Karachi, stated that there was no alternative to war; therefore, one had to remain fully prepared for an outbreak of war any time.

Threats of war are always available in several articles published in their newspapers. A commentary was recently published in an English daily, THE NATION, by a military observer. It gives an account of how much damage would be inflicted on the Indian Army on land, air, and sea within 10 days if India committed the foolishness of going to war with Pakistan. While commenting on the "possible foolishness" on the part of India, the military observer has demonstrated wisdom in not mentioning the way the Pakistani Army would be crushed by Indian rockets and missiles. It has simply been observed that, within 10 days, so much havoc would be created that both countries would be forced to agree to a ceasefire.

However, the most interesting statement was made by a retired army major and was published in the English daily THE MUSLIM. The fellow comments that if a war breaks out India will not only lose Kashmir but also Punjab and the Indian Muslims will revolt in order to help their Pakistani brethren. Thus the name India will be completely wiped off the world map. Perhaps he was retired from his position as army major because he showed this kind of expertness.

In a commentary written by a well-known commentator, Khalid Akhtar, in the English daily THE MUSLIM in context of a possible war it was stated that when Indian Foreign Secretary Dubey had visited Islamabad President Ghulam Ishaq Khan told him bluntly that if India believed in the principle of "might is right" then Pakistan was also prepared for all eventualities—India should have no illusion about this.

The commentary further states that India had deployed 350,000 soldiers on the borders of Kashmir and Punjab. It was possible that India might start a limited military activity in Jammu and Kashmir, and in Punjab. However, this would only have one outcome. A full-scale war would erupt along the border. The most dangerous aspect of this situation is that both sides are prepared for "a once and for all" eventuality.

As a matter of fact, Pakistan's greatest difficulty (and also weakness) is that it looks at Kashmir with the same pure Islamic angle as it does for all internal issues. And, since the Muslim clergy have always had an upper hand behind such a view, Pakistan, so far, has remained unlucky in not having a stable democracy.

Now, in regard to the Islamic point of view, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, the chief of Jamiat-i Ulema-i

Pakistan has declared that military rule itself is un-Islamic. According to his statement published in the English daily DAWN, "There is no reference to military rule in Islam nor does the Koran allow it."

Human rights have been said to be the fundamental condition in Islam, and because human rights are curbed in a military rule it is un-Islamic.

The Maulana has come out with an interesting discovery. But, the question is, while there are a great number of experts in the Islamic religion and Koran available in Pakistan, how is it that this did not strike any of them in the past 11 years? If human rights are a fundamental condition in Islam why couldn't democracy take root in Pakistan? Even now, why is there so much uproar over authority being given to the army in the state of Sindh?

In the context of democracy, an interesting anecdote comes to mind which is related to Ziaul Haq, the last military ruler of Pakistan. A special barber was assigned to shave him. One day, as he began to shave him he asked, "My lord, if you do not take it ill may I ask you a question?"

When the general nodded his head in affirmation, he said, "My lord, there is a rumour that you are going to hold elections."

General Ziaul Haq looked at him with fierce swallowing eyes. The poor barber quietly continued his shaving job. But when he began a second coat, he asked again sheepishly, "My lord, are you really going to hold elections?"

Gen. Zia was outraged. He pushed the barber and pointing a revolver at him he asked, "You bastard, tell me which party do you belong to?"

The barber choked with fear. Trembling and joining both of his palms together he added, "My lord, I do not belong to any party. As your hairs are raised with hearing the word 'election,' it makes it easy to shave that way. This was the only reason I asked you about it."

Prototype of First Indigenous Supercomputer Unveiled

91AS0026 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
18 Aug 90 p 13

[Article by N. Suresh]

[Text] Pune, 17 Aug (The Times of India News Service)—The prototype of the country's first indigenous, commercial supercomputer, based on parallel processing technology, was unveiled to the public and industry here today, thus completing the second phase of the project. The first phase involved setting up of the facility.

PARAM, as it is called, has been developed by the scientists at the Centre for Development of Advanced

Computing (C-DAC), set up in 1988 here by the department of electronics, specially for this purpose.

With this India becomes the sixth country in the world actively in the business of producing supercomputers. The United States and Japan are already commercially producing them. West Germany and UK have produced prototypes and Canada is soon to do so.

With 64 processing nodes, the machine can now perform at a speed of 100 million floating point operations per second (MFLOPS), the chief executive of the C-DAC, Dr. Vijay P. Bhatkar, told this paper.

Later, the machine could be upscaled with 256 processors. "We have planned and phased out the project very well," he claimed.

Two other similar parallel processing machines with their operating speed comparable to those of supercomputers have been developed so far in the country.

Applications

These two supercomputers—FLOSOLVER designed by the National Aeronautical Laboratory, Bangalore, and ANURAG, developed by the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) of the defence ministry—are meant for specific applications.

On the other hand, PARAM has been tested for 23 different applications.

In normal supercomputers, several of which are available in the market, one high powered main-frame computer does all the calculations at a high speed. On the other hand, PARAM-type machines use a large number of smaller computers connected parallelly so that they all tackle the same problem concurrently to give the same speed as a supercomputer.

Supercomputing is now recognised as a third mode of scientific investigation, complementing the two well-established modes of research, theory and experimentation. Supercomputing has already provided new insight into natural phenomenon, replaced costly experimentation by simulation, and given solutions to grand challenges of science and technology.

Strategic Role

As it is widely believed that a nation's ability to carry out frontier research and technology development would depend upon the availability of high performance computing, supercomputers have become a strategic resource.

Several advanced countries have launched national projects to design such machines and India also has not lagged behind and set up the C-DAC, on 17 March 1988, on the recommendations of the science advisory council to the Prime Minister.

Adopting a hop-step-jump method, C-DAC set up its headquarters in Pune, development centre in Bangalore and a project cell in New Delhi, as part of phase one.

Phase two was the development of the prototype PARAM. It uses transputers marketed by a British computer company, INMOS Ltd. Transputers are processing elements which have memory and communication channels on a single chip. The software, TDS (Transputer development system), used in PARAM also belongs to INMOS.

Dr. Bhatkar clarifies that "the basic transputers and switching elements and other related hardware have been bought off-the-shelf just as other transputer-based parallel machine designers have done." So was the TDS. "However, our people have found that enhancements are possible on these."

Complex Tool

The improved software is called APEX (advanced parallel programming environments). APEX is designed to support all phases of application development. It includes, among others, an algorithm prototyping tool for performance of prediction and compilers of the computer programme C and fortran.

Some of the key applications among the 23 identified for PARAM, so far, are image processing, remote sensing, computational fluid dynamics, finite element methods, oil reservoir modelling, seismic data processing, molecular modelling, signal processing, circuit simulation, speech recognition, scientific visualisation.

C-DAC is in the process of signing memorandums of understanding (MOU) with organisations like Space Application Centre, Ahmedabad, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, Electronics Research and Development Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, Institute of Reservoir Studies, Ahmedabad and National Chemical Laboratory.

India's computer market is currently estimated to be about Rs 1,000 [rupees] crore annually. It is likely to go upto Rs 4,800 crore by 1995 and Rs 23,000 crore by 2000 AD. The world computer market, currently put at \$230 billion, is estimated to grow to \$500 billion in 1995.

IRAN

Condition of Schools, Students Detailed

90AS0470G London KEYHAN in Persian
27 Sep 90 pp 1, 11

[Text] The 1369-70 [1990-91] academic year began throughout the country on 23 September with 16 million students at various levels of education entering classrooms.

In Tehran, Hashemi-Rafsanjani rang the bell of a trade school in the southern part of the city at 7:00 AM, sent a message to the students and encouraged them to study and to have pure morals.

In Khorramshahr and Dehloran, for the first time in 10 years, school bells rang. In Khorramshahr, 4,000 students, and in Dehloran 721 students went to classes.

The new academic year in Iran begins while the Ministry of Education is helpless to open new schools for students, whose numbers are increasing daily. In the new academic year, in Tehran alone, the number of students increased by 100,000.

The shortage of classrooms and schools has caused Tehran in particular, which has 1.6 million students, to make double-shift classrooms into five-shift classrooms and to bring the level of education to the lowest possible level.

In some of the Tehran schools which have five shifts, students go to class only twice a week for half a day.

To make use of the existing classrooms, classes in elementary and high schools begin at 7:30 AM. Thus, hundreds of thousands of students in Tehran must leave home shortly after 6:00 AM every day to be in school at 7:00 AM. From 7:15 AM come worship ceremonies and collective exercises.

The director general of education in Tehran, Gholamreza Arefnasab, announced that this year 100,000 students have been added to the numbers in Tehran, whereas the number of classrooms has not increased proportionately, resulting in increased problems of classroom shortages.

In addition to the problems of shortages of classrooms, shortages of experienced and educated teachers and shortages of books and educational tools are among the serious problems of students.

Among the new problems of the parents of students in the current academic year is that elementary and high schools are demanding, illegally, that they voluntarily give financial aid to the schools in order to register the students. The amount of this financial aid is dependent on the conduct grade of the student. For example, a student whose conduct grade is 19 must pay the school 10,000 rials, a student with a grade of 18 must pay 20,000 rials, one with a grade of 17 must pay 30,000 rials, and so on. Protests to the officials of the Islamic Republic have so far brought no results.

Although in accordance with the Constitution of the regime of the Islamic Republic, elementary and high school education must be free, the government of the Islamic Republic, which does not have the ability to provide for the national educational budget even at this poor level, has forced the people to make unofficial and illegal payments in the name of voluntary help by the people.

Another problem of the students is finding briefcases, shoes, uniforms, books, and writing tools. To obtain these needs of the students, their guardians must pay huge amounts of money, and in many cases, items such as books and uniforms are essentially scarce and not readily available.

Meanwhile, the children of Iranians who have returned home since the occupation of Kuwait are confused. There is no room for them to register in schools.

According to Tehran newspapers, in Shiraz alone there are between 10,000 and 13,000 children of these Iranians for whom no educational program has been prepared.

Half Billion Cigarette Packages Smuggled in Yearly

90AS0470U London KEYHAN in Persian 27 Sep 90 p 4

[Text] "The people use \$30 billion in cigarettes annually. Of this number, 10 billion are produced domestically, 10 billion are imported legally, and the remaining 10 billion (1/2 billion packages) are smuggled to consumers."

The above statement was made some time ago by Mohammad Reza Ne'matzadeh, the minister of industries, in a seminar of the Islamic societies of the factories. Presenting a picture of the situation governing the national industries, he told those present in the seminar: "We must make use of these resources and by saturating the domestic market, prepare the grounds to export industrial goods to neighboring countries and those in the region."

In another part of his speech, the minister of industries referred to the necessity of increasing production for the expansion of exports and said: "With the increase in production, the grounds for exports will be prepared automatically. Now, due to low production and the domestic market not being saturated, we have no exports." He added: "The government's policy is based on increased production and saturating the domestic market, and this policy will continue to be pursued."

In this speech, the Islamic regime's minister of industries announced that at the present time, most factories in the country are working at 70 percent capacity.

PAKISTAN

Electoral Alliances Said of 'Dubious Gain'

91AS0001B Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 pp 7-8

[Text] Even the major parties like the [Pakistan] People's Party [PPP] and the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] are entering into electoral alliances of dubious gain with parties which exist largely in the minds of their office-bearers or on letterheads.

Piddling little parties are making exorbitant demands on their senior partners for assembly seats far in excess of

their strength and public appeal. The PDP [Pakistan Democratic Party], for instance, has demanded that it be given 42 seats (29 provincial and 13 N.A. [National Assembly] berths). The JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] (Niazi group) wants 78 (52 + 26), and the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] (Darkhwasti group) will settle for nothing less than 95. The Jamaat-i-Islami has a more modest claim—26.

If all these claims are accepted, the Muslim League, the largest partner in the IJI conglomerate, will have to make do with extraterrestrial seats. That, however, will raise constitutional complications of an intractable nature. Other extraterrestrials, for example, might demand representation in our legislatures on a reciprocal basis. One does not have the ESP [extra sensory perception] of requisite deputy to offer a solution.

The PPP, too, has its little brother problems. While the Tehrik-i-Istiqalai wants only 11—mighty white of Mr. Asghar Khan—another Tehrik which need not be fully named here, would like 26 seats allocated to it. At this rate, the PPP co-chairperson might be left with no choice but to represent Overseas Pakistanis and stand from Hampstead, Her Majesty's Government permitting.

Electoral alliances have always been dicey here as well as in India. An alliance should have an ideological base rather than be a marriage of convenience. All marriages must be allowed to be in heaven made. However, electoral alliances should be made on earth and with much greater circumspection than is needed for an affair of the heart.

Bugti's Uncompromising Attitude Towards PPP Criticized

91AS0001H Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 p 35

[Article from AMANULLAH]

[Text] Former Baluchistan chief minister and chief of the Jamhoori Watan Party Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti used harsh language against the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] leadership at a gathering at the Quetta Press Club last week, alleging that the PPP was an enemy of the Baloch. He also said, referring indirectly to the Baluchistan National Movement [BNM] and the Pakistan National Party [PNP], that whoever makes an alliance or cooperates with the PPP was not a well-wisher of the people of Baluchistan.

Mr. Bugti alleged that Ms. Benazir Bhutto was travelling along the path of her father who too he said was an enemy of Baluchistan. He was angry that the PPP leadership had not convened a meeting of the CCI [Controller of Capital Issues], failed to release development funds, and had not provided Balochi youth with jobs in the federal services according to their share in the Constitution.

Mr. Bugti was also unhappy that the BNM and PNP might enter into an alliance with the Pushtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party because he was of the view that the latter was raising the slogan "Bolan to Chitral." He declared that he would never compromise with any party on this issue.

The next day, former PPP MNA [Member of National Assembly] and an influential personality of the Nasirabad division Mir Nabi Bakhsh Khoso, commenting on Mr. Bugti's remarks that the PPP was an enemy of the Baloch people, said that a buffalo once asked a cow how was it that its tail was black. Mir Khoso asked why Mr. Bugti had become governor if Mr. Bhutto was an enemy of Baluchistan. He said it was no secret that when the military was used against the Marri and Mengal tribes, Mr. Bugti was the constitutional head of the province.

Political observers point out that Mr. Bugti used harsh language against the PPP because President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had reportedly warned the Nawab that he should not bulldoze the Muslim League out of Baluchistan and his priority should be to campaign against the PPP. These observers are of the view that politicians should not use such extreme language in politics which then becomes a problem for them, because in politics nothing is final. They recall that Mr. Bugti as governor had dismissed the elected government of Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal in 1973 and supported the late Mr. Bhutto's action suspending the Baluchistan Assembly because the NAP [National Awami Party] and the JUI [Jama'iat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] enjoyed a majority. At that time, Sardar Mengal was a staunch opponent of Mr. Bhutto, but after 17 years, Mr. Bugti has become anti-Bhutto whereas Sardar Mengal's son, Mir Akhtar Mengal of the BNM, met Ms. Benazir Bhutto the other day to make an alliance with her.

Observers argue that an inflexible and an uncompromising attitude among political leaders neither serves the people nor democracy; it only encourages forces which intrigue behind the scenes to capture power.

Tehrik, Chief Asghar Khan Interviewed on Alliance With PPP

91AS0001D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 pp 7-8

[Article by Zafaryab Ahmed; "We Will Expose the Farce"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] "We had so much in common in our understanding of political issues that we had no problems on reaching an alliance. I had met Benazir Bhutto only once, before the 1988 elections, and yet we could conclude everything within 2 and 1/2 hours without any prior meeting."

This was stated by Air Marshal (retd) Mohammad Asghar Khan, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal chief, while talking to VIEWPOINT at his home in Abbottabad last week about his recent meeting with the [Pakistan] People's Party

[PPP] co-chairperson in which the two parties reached an electoral alliance which Mr. Asghar Khan has said will continue even after the elections.

Staying Together

"Our alliance is not just for the election. We are going to stay together even after the election. So seats are not important. Had we had that kind of approach, we wouldn't have been able to reach an understanding. We will not ask for any quota. We were there with an open mind. I believe that Benazir Bhutto also came with an open mind. We talked about issues and principles. Individuals didn't figure. These were different negotiations from what people have known in the past. I found Benazir a straight-forward, honest and courageous person," the Tehrik chief said.

The accord between the Tehrik and the People's Party is significant on many counts for both the parties. It will provide the Tehrik candidates the required electoral support to win and the People's Party the support of a leader who, though not charismatic, has over a period of time earned a reputation as a personally honest politician, particularly at a moment when the whole world has been given to believe that the PPP has been isolated. While receiving delegations both from the People's Party and the Tehrik who came to congratulate him, Mr. Asghar Khan said: "I am sure this alliance will work."

Till this alliance, the Tehrik chief had not seen eye-to-eye with the People's Party leadership on many issues. They were on opposite sides ever since the late 60s. But whenever the possibility of the two leaderships working together was voiced, it was always welcomed at the popular level. People would say that the Bhutto charisma and Asghar Khan's political position—which he sees as "not very different" from that of the People's Party—, if the two could coexist democratically, it would be an ideal combination.

Although Mr. Asghar Khan had joined the PNA [Pakistan National Party] alliance against Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977, his distaste for Right-wing obscurantists has always been obvious. The alliance with the PPP has provided him with a way to steer clear of such forces."

Accountability

In the interview, Mr. Asghar Khan also said that he was determined to go out and expose the process of "accountability" which he sees as nothing more than as a farce and an attempt to continue the politics of Ziaul Haq and discredit the political process.

[VIEWPOINT] How do you look at the present political scenario?

[Asghar Khan] Well, it is a very difficult situation for us. We were demanding the dissolution of all the assemblies, dismissal of the governments as well as accountability of everybody. But the way accountability has started is very clumsy, one-sided and most unfair. The Opposition of

that time has been given charge of looking into the affairs of the sacked government of that time. the provincial government in the Punjab is the nominee of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] chief and ex-chief minister of the province, Mian Nawaz Sharif.

I must say that rigging has already started. On the one hand, the present Caretaker Government is required to win, or will like to win the elections. On the other, they are expected to remain impartial, which is not realistic. This is not a manner conducive for democratic institutions to survive. I do not think it is right, and if continued, it will disillusion the people and can also have very serious consequences.

[VIEWPOINT] You have formed an alliance with a party against which the present establishment has unleashed its wrath and you also say that rigging has already started. How will you handle the election campaign?

[Asghar Khan] Ultimately, the real force is not the government, it is the people and it is they who determine electoral results. If we succeed in mobilising the people, and I think the two parties can do it, all these machinations will fail. The reason I see it possible is that the issues are so clear. The Caretaker Governments at the Centre and in the provinces are partisan and are determined to win at all costs. They have inducted people who are known to be corrupt. In my own district here, an MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly] who won the last election as an independent candidate and later joined the PPP Government and is considered to be a corrupt person, has changed sides. They accepted him. I think this is grossly unfair—and revealing of the intentions of those who have been made responsible to hold free and fair elections.

[VIEWPOINT] But election is a big affair and the manipulative capacity of the government to give a certain dimension or tilt to electoral results is enormous...

[Asghar Khan] The government can manipulate to a great extent, but then the people will know—and we will make sure that they know what has happened. The results may give them a temporary respite. They might win more seats. But that is not the answer. They have seen that a party which had a majority was not able to govern. They must realise that if they do not have the support of the people they are going to govern, then just getting seats in the assemblies is not going to solve anything.

[VIEWPOINT] What kind of political programme [do] you intend to take to the electorate?

[Asghar Khan] The Tehrik has a political programme which I do not think is very much dissimilar from that of the People's Party. I am not saying that the two documents are exactly the same. It is an interesting situation. The Tehrik had a programme but could not make it to the assemblies. The People's Party too had a programme, not very dissimilar from ours, and had an opportunity to

implement it, but which they could not implement because of reasons better known to them. We are now hoping to evolve a common programme which we can together take to the assemblies and form our government. We will try to implement it. Practice is the only test in politics. Unless someone does what someone says that he or she will do, people will not have faith in the democratic process.

The issue of an electoral programme also came up during our meeting and we have formed a committee to look into the matter. It will be a brief document. The Tehrik prepared a long manifesto before the previous elections. But neither did many people read it nor did we get many votes. I think what is more important is that what we actually do.

[VIEWPOINT] With what intention are you going into elections—to educate, to present a position or to win?

[Asghar Khan] Obviously to win, and as I said, if we could mobilise the people, there is no reason why we should not win.

[VIEWPOINT] Mobilising the people may be essential but it is not a sufficient enough condition to win elections. An electoral victory, one assumes, requires some sort of infrastructure and also awareness about constituencies and electoral behaviour, arranging vigilant polling agents, etc.

[Asghar Khan] The two go together. No one can have large public meetings without the necessary infrastructure. You are right in pointing this out. But I think the People's Party and the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal have that structure. The two parties also have experience of previous elections.

[VIEWPOINT] What is your understanding of the issues between the army generals and Benazir Bhutto?

[Asghar Khan] I don't know if there is an issue between the army and Benazir Bhutto. I don't want to speak on this unless I have some facts. I think if a party has political support then the army is not a problem.

[VIEWPOINT] There is an impression that the armed forces would like to have the political parties as their appendage rather than having a relationship of mutual accommodation.

[Asghar Khan] The army in a developing country is a fact to be reckoned with because the political institutions are weak and don't have roots. In that respect, the last government too was weak and they (the military) became a political factor that could dictate. I would like to believe that they do not have political ambitions, and I am sure that if political institutions are strong, they will not interfere.

[VIEWPOINT] People say that the army does not want democratic institutions to take root and one of the reasons being put forward for the dismissal of the

assemblies and the government is the emerging possibility of democratic institutions gaining strength.

[Asghar Khan] I do not know if the army intervened. The Tehrik demanded the dissolution of the assemblies. One of the reasons for our demand was the unbridled horse-trading that was going on. It was difficult for any party to have a stable government. But we didn't call for this one-sided accountability.

[VIEWPOINT] What did you expect after the dissolution of the assemblies?

[Asghar Khan] An impartial caretaker government capable of maintaining neutrality and holding free and fair elections. This could be constituted only of people who were not interested in coming into power. We would like a permanent body for accountability and we will soon discuss its prospects with Benazir Bhutto. Accountability has to be a continuous process. What is happening today in the name of accountability is a form of rigging and that too of a crude quality!

[VIEWPOINT] How do you feel after having formed this alliance?

[Asghar Khan] Very good. It is a big responsibility. We have a long history of antagonism. But that was on issues and had different reasons altogether. The main issue today is to provide the country with a stable government, particularly when those arrayed against us have nothing in common—the Shariat Bill, the Afghan issues, the present Gulf policy, the India policy—they agree on none of these. To give you a few examples, some of them want to see the Pakistani flag hoisted on the Red Fort in Delhi, some want peaceful and friendly relations with India. Then there are those who want to see their flag in Red Square in Moscow and also claim to be custodians of Ziaul Haq's legacy. There are those who are opposed to all such nonsense. Elections are not a 'tamasha.' We are talking about electing a national leadership which they can't provide. Such a collection may function as an opposition, but it can't form a stable government.

[VIEWPOINT] In a recent statement, you have warned how disastrous another martial law would be. Do you see any such eventuality?

[Asghar Khan] I didn't talk of individuals. The armed forces as an institution are always there and they increasingly feel that our politicians are not only corrupt but also inefficient, although we have seen that when they are in power, they are not much better. They feel that they can lead better. I would like to see that the present lot of people has a solution to this, that they do not interfere in politics now or in the future. But as I said in a country like Pakistan, there is always a problem, the armed forces are a force to reckon with, always a force that would like to assume political power and they should not be given the opportunity to interfere in politics.

[VIEWPOINT] But there is a general impression that the army does not want the People's Party in politics in any form and they will make sure that it so happens, and if they fail to do it politically, they wouldn't hesitate to impose martial law.

[Asghar Khan] I do not know much about such assumptions. But what are the armed forces? They are the people of Pakistan. If the people of Pakistan are against the People's Party, then this assertion may be true. I don't think that the people of Pakistan are anti-People's party and the armed forces are part of the people. The two can't be isolated. Someone, by wearing a khaki uniform, does not become something else. I would like to think that it is not so. It could perhaps be said if we were talking about some people at the top, who control the armed forces, but not the armed forces as a whole.

[VIEWPOINT] But in a hierarchical structure like the army it is the people at the top who decide and who matters.

[Asghar Khan] People at the top change. Young people grow up to replace them.

[VIEWPOINT] Do you think that the elections will be held on 24 October?

[Asghar Khan] I can see no reason why they shouldn't be held on 24 October, unless there is a war or we are struck by some other calamity. I tend to believe those responsible will definitely hold these elections. If they don't, things wouldn't be easy for them.

[VIEWPOINT] Do you think that the Iraq-Kuwait conflict can in any way hamper elections in Pakistan?

[Asghar Khan] I can't see that level of our involvement at present. What happens tomorrow is anybody's guess.

[VIEWPOINT] Would you like to comment on our involvement in the conflict?

[Asghar Khan] (Pause): I think it would have been much better if the Arabs were left to sort out their disputes themselves. But they themselves have been divided, and there is the American lobby, and there are the others. I think we should stay clear of the Gulf.

Forum Demands Help for Stranded Women in Gulf

*91AS0001F Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 pp 31-32*

[Text] The Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development is seriously perturbed: Kuwait had an enormous labour force from Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, the Philippines, Indonesia. It included thousands of women.

The Asian Pacific Forum has sent out letters to many organisations asking for help for the 80,000 women stranded in Kuwait. They are maids, cooks, restaurant servants, employees in beauty parlours, shop assistants

and even secretaries, who had migrated to Kuwait from their homelands to find work. Their employers, it is reported, have left Kuwait, leaving them behind.

The SOS

One of these letters, which is really an SOS, was sent to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan in Lahore. The Commission has sent out an appeal to the government of Iraq and all concerned embassies in Baghdad to take immediate steps for the safety and well-being of these hapless Asian women. It seems from the SOS that most Asian countries have women nationals in Kuwait. The Democratic Women's Association of Pakistan has joined hands and has also sent out appeals.

An enormous amount of attention surrounds the safety of the stranded English and American nationals, but the fate of the Asians seems to have been committed to the background.

There are reports of alleged rape and sexual assault. The Asia Pacific Forum has urged the Iraqi administration to investigate these reports of violence and to take action.

Why They Came

These thousands of women had gone to the Gulf, particularly to Kuwait, because their own countries were unable to offer a livelihood. Their earnings brought much-needed hard currency to their countries. Are they now to be left to starve in Kuwait? There are our own Pakistani women among them. The Pakistan Government has closed its Embassy in Kuwait, leaving but an ambassador and a minimal skeleton staff. They seem to have washed their hands off their stranded nationals.

War has not yet come to the Gulf, but the threat is there to Arab countries and to thousands who have laboured to help build the Arab world at the cost of their life savings, now frozen in Arab banks. Their belongings, have been forfeited and they are now a drift in the Jordanian desert.

The uprooted thousands may not have yet experienced the direct devastation of war, but war's realities have caught up with them. The American army, (100,000-strong to date, and one knows that they are dug in deep enough not to leave for some time to come. In fact, the latest news is that they will more or less stay, building up a force akin to NATO.

There is no doubt that famine and disease will follow this horrendous situation for the thousands of uprooted people milling around in the sands of Jordan, fighting for bottles of water thrown at them from army lorries.

The Bangladesh High Commissioner in London, speaking on International Radio on 6 September, said that the world in modern times surely had not seen such a tragic situation it has now.

Our Duty

So many Pakistanis gave their most precious years, struggling for a livelihood which their own land denied them. Now the fear of war drives them home to a country which will have little or nothing to offer them. Do they know that a soldier like one of those who threw water to them in the desert is trained at the same cost as it takes to educate 80 children? Or that 450,000 houses for the poor could be built from the cost of launching the latest nuclear missile submarine? No, and no one will tell them, for they are secrets kept by the dogs of war.

The women stranded in Kuwait do not know either. They came in all good faith to make an honest living; many must have taken off from Karachi.

The Asian Pacific Forum demands help in the name of peace and to denounce the use of aggression to resolve political conflicts.

Commentary Views Bureaucracy, Political Authority

91AS0001E Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 pp 30-31

[Article by Zafaryab Ahmed: "Tussle for Superiority"]

[Text] Much has been said and much more will be said about the reasons that led to the removal of Benazir Bhutto's Government from power. However, there seems to be a tacit agreement among her opponents and supporters alike that her government was dismissed because her kind of politics was not acceptable to the military-civilian bureaucracy.

In contrast with the charges of corruption levelled against her administration, this theory sounds plausible: if there really was a serious drive against corruption and inefficiency, there would have been, as someone has said, a general strike in all government departments because the two traits are a distinguishing feature of our official machinery.

The other assumption is that the government was deposed because Benazir Bhutto failed to walk on the tightrope of the power equation. No one can do a balancing act if those holding the ends keep shaking the rope and are determined not to let a person perform. There seems to be a consensus that Benazir Bhutto was allowed into power reluctantly and in the belief that she would not be able to last.

Important Issues

However, important issues of historical significance have been raised since the dismissal. The single most important issue is that of the relationship between political authority and bureaucratic authority—civil and military both. This problem has been there since the inception of Pakistan. It should have been resolved at that time. One major reason for procrastination over the

issue was the magnitude of the problems of a newly-created state where the people and institutions had to adjust themselves to new roles in a changed situation. The structure of power relations that evolved relegated the political leadership to a secondary position. The civil and military outfits enjoyed an organisational edge over the other institutions, including the political parties, and came into ascendancy. For the first 25 years, the relationship of the armed forces vis-a-vis civil society remained undefined all along till 1958, when the military in the shape of Ayub Khan finally took over political power. The 1973 Constitution was the first one which defined their role in Article 245: "...defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war, and subject to act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so." This Constitution was abrogated and the country experienced different phases of the military government of General Zia. The role of the armed forces remained supreme for 11 long years. Once again after the installation of a civilian government in 1988, the issue became alive and is still being discussed even after the removal of the civilian government and while preparations are afoot for fresh elections.

There are those who suggest that to resolve the crisis, the political role of the armed forces should be institutionalised. Then there are those who believe that the army should not transgress its professional role. There are also those in whose eyes the issue has been resolved and Pakistan has become a praetorian state, with the army acquiring domination over the political institutions and also having the necessary experience to manage the affairs of the state. It is argued that they can do better than the politicians.

The organisational superiority of the civil and military bureaucracy, by its very nature, gives it an edge over the political parties and it wishes to establish its hegemony. This is an impediment in resolving the political, social and economic problems of society. The hierarchical military and bureaucratic institutions—small, closed fractions of society—are authoritarian by nature and their internal cohesion is based on discipline and obedience. Their notions of rationality, efficiency and sound administration are different from those of a political grouping, which is flexible and tolerant. The order from a superior authority has to be obeyed, not discussed and debated. Political institutions thus cannot be the mirror image of bureaucratic organisations, which want a political government to be run by consensus by which they mean unquestioned allegiance. If it does not so happen, they believe in superiority. These may be very good qualities for a closed corporate group to run efficiently, but they just cannot work in the case of bigger formations which are susceptible to public pressure and exposure. To maintain coherent military-civil bureaucratic structures, love for tradition and their own concept of their superiority are raised to a level where they develop a mistrust of the rest.

If not isolated or separated, as argued by Max Weber, the father of modern bureaucracy, the possibility is that they

feel threatened by anything they find superior. Hence another ingredient of bureaucratic organisations—that it can administer efficiently only if they keep themselves out of the affairs of a society. If this insulation is not maintained, then it is feared that the coherence and discipline of an hierarchical organisation will not be preserved.

All the positions presented earlier ignore the fact that the armed forces and the bureaucratic institutions of the state and are organised to perform a particular role for which they are recruited and trained and maintained. In the post-Independence period, it was essential that instead of one institution making use of the weaknesses of another institution, they should have helped each other to outgrow their weaknesses.

Well Laid Out

As far as the first position is concerned, the constitutional role of the armed forces is well laid out in the Constitution. The second position, though noble, apparently draws its strength from the colonial tradition of the military's subordination to the civil authority and is presumably presented to assert the supremacy of civilian authority. That is the root cause of the problem. This position ignores the fact that the imperial government in India was neither an elected one nor a responsible one. The C-in-C used to be a member of the Governor-General's Council and was entitled to attend the meetings of both the houses. Until 1947, no Muslim or non-Muslim had gone up even to the rank of colonel. When it was felt necessary, on the pain of survival, to concede the demand for self-rule, a contemptuous attitude towards the native political leadership was still maintained. Even now when the armed forces are called in to aid civilian authority, their attitude is that they are being asked to do something beyond the call of their duty. This argument was pushed by some to spoil the relationship between the civilian and military authority when the Benazir Bhutto Government asked the latter to help during the riots and sabotage in Sindh. All along General Zia's rule, the troops had remained in Sindh, but they hadn't minded, because the authority under which they operated was of Gen Zia.

The protagonists of Pakistan being a praetorian state or those who believe that over a period of time the army has assumed ascendancy over the political forces and believe that the situation cannot now be reversed and hence the military is best suited to maintain law and order in the country and it would be better for the political leadership to assume a secondary role. Also, they now say, an underdeveloped country with such a low literacy rate cannot afford democracy. The facts may well be true, but the conclusion is not. What these grand theorists do not realise is the fact that such a situation can put the entire structure and the organisation of the army in jeopardy. As one military historian, while mentioning the military's role in the events of 1971, said: "Their performance suffered because the top military leadership had been corrupted by its involvement in politics." One

believes that the army is more aware of this than anyone else. However, this is not to argue that there is no individual in the army with a craving for political power. Moreover, many military men and bureaucrats have a low opinion of the political processes. There is an ambivalence in their attitude precisely because of the commitment to professionalism inherent in a bureaucrats organisation.

Self-expression

But bureaucratic and discipline are not the only things that a society needs to function. More than anything else, to administer a mass society, what is needed are the means of self-expression for each individual and institution. No one, however powerful he may be, can administer without that. To deny the mass of the people their basic democratic rights on the pretext that the political leadership is corrupt or inefficient does not hold. The non-political governments have proved worse than the political ones. In the national interest and to build a strong Pakistan and maintain law and order and to promote economic development, how much better it would be if the army-bureaucracy group, instead of denigrating the political leadership in its moment of weaknesses and crisis, could come forward and reciprocate the sentiments which the political leadership had shown towards it at its moment of need and crisis, most notably in 1971.

Commentary Views Uncertainties of Current Political Scene

91AS0001A Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 p 7

[Commentary by Groundsman]

[Text] The schedule for the National Assembly and provincial assembly elections has been announced, and several parties have also issued a provisional list of their candidates. This should normally have led to a clearer picture emerging of the current political scene. However, in our country, everything is so uncertain that nothing can ever be said with certainty.

First, despite the Caretaker Government's and the president's repeated declarations that elections will be held as scheduled on 24 October, many people continue to harbour doubts about whether it will be possible to adhere to this schedule. Many reasons are advanced in favour of a postponement, one of them being that the [Pakistan] People's Party (PPP) seems poised to at least maintain the position it obtained in 1988 if not to improve upon it. The recent outbreak of firing incidents in Karachi and Hyderabad—although reportedly between supporters of the Jamaat-i-Islami and the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]—also have a sinister ring to them.

Accountability

Second, speculation continues about where the process of accountability is headed. There are persistent reports that Benazir Bhutto will eventually be disqualified from taking part in the elections, which of course, will raise many questions about the credibility or authenticity of the entire exercise. Although spokespersons of the Caretaker Government have contradicted this particular theory, it remains in circulation—that some deal is being offered to Benazir Bhutto to withdraw from the electoral contest in exchange of or exemption from charges of alleged wrongdoing.

Third, the dissolution of the assemblies on 6 August by President Ishaq Khan has been challenged in court and hearing of the case has yet to begin. No one knows what the verdict will be.

Fourth, with the Caretakers having already completed almost half of their scheduled term, they have neither been able to impress the people with their impartiality or conclusively establish for the benefit of those who support them that they will be able to deliver a win for the IJI-COP [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad-Combined Opposition Parties] combine. The remark that you most often hear, even from neutral observers of the political scene, is that the 6 August scheme has backfired. This raises the possibility of even greater confusion. If the PPP is to be allowed to get back into power, people say with the kind of intuitive logic that we tend to develop in the Third World, it would not have been removed in the first place. In the meantime, some of our hot-shot columnists have even forecast that some agreement will be reached with Benazir Bhutto and the PPP; it appears difficult to believe that the IJI will be summarily dumped after all the trouble taken to get it in as a Caretaker administration.

The one dominant feature of the current scene is that the Benazir factor looms large. But after an initial round of fiery speeches and statements, little is known of what is going on behind the high walls of Bilawal House. The PPP's central executive was in almost continuous session, agonising over the selection of candidates for the National and provincial assemblies. All parties have been handicapped by the short time available for electoral preparations, and many of them may not be able to properly sift through the list of applications for tickets. So most of them may finally have to rely on the 1988 candidates which would only add to the general sense of having been there before. No party till Tuesday was even talking of a manifesto. But then may be this is the manifesto-type elections: it is only a re-run of the 1988 polls, with an attempt to get a different result.

The only leader sounding sure and positively enthusiastic during the week was Mr Asghar Khan of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal. Some of his confidence no doubt comes from his alliance with the People's Party, and after a long time the lone ranger of our politics seems wanted. Certainly his reputation for personal probity can only

help the PPP. He has promised that he will go out campaigning to expose what he calls the farce of accountability. He has also said that rigging has already begun.

Now that is another imponderable. Local body funds, it is said, are to be given to IJI candidates in the Punjab. Is it possible to rig a country-wide general election? Difficult as previous attempts have shown; you can easily be caught out. How much rigging will there be then and will it be able to influence the outcome of the polls? What role will money play in elections this time? Remember the vast sums spent in 1988 and subsequently in the by-elections? We will like to defeat the PPP electorally, Mr Nawaz Sharif is reported to be saying. Watch out.

Not Knowing

So, can people be blamed if they have that uncertain feeling? A feeling also of not knowing where they are going? Harold Pinter says in one of his plays: "You are in no man's land which never moves, which never changes, which never grows older, but which remains forever, icy and silent."

A silent prayer goes up from many homes at night: May we grow up politically, may we move forward, may we be vibrant and full of the sound of life.

Commentary Criticizes PTV Coverage of Press Freedom

91AS0001I Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 p 37

[Text] Press freedom and recent political developments in the country were discussed on Saturday as part of the new series, Pakistan and Democracy. The participants were veteran journalist Nisar Osmani and two proprietor-editors, Arif Nizami and Zahid Malik. The programme was compered by Anwar Husain, who, like Azhar Lodhi, was completely blacked-out during the previous regime. Therefore, his sympathies were the proprietors who claimed to be the standard-bearers of Press freedom.

Reverse Order

The strange thing was that the compere first asked Mr. Nisar Osmani to speak on the subject to be followed by the young proprietor-journalists. The general practice is that senior people are given respect and asked to speak, read or recite at the end.

Mr. Osmani was senior in age and professional experience to the two other participants, but he was asked to start the proceedings. Every proprietor-editor who has avoided implementing the Wage Board Awards for newspaper employees cannot have any love lost for Mr. Osmani. The second point is that almost all proprietor-journalists have made unholy alliances with Martial Law regimes. They have pleaded the cause of totalitarianism but whenever there has been a democratic government, they have never lost an opportunity to berate it. They

have contributed to the emasculation of democracy in this country while journalists have squarely faced up to undemocratic regimes.

But Anwar Husain so manipulated the programme that the journalists' representative became a target of both the proprietor-editors, and thus the newspaper barons were saved from answering accusations made against them.

Mr. Arif Nizami sarcastically ridiculed the whole struggle of the journalists and the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists. He said that Mr. Osmani believed in closing down papers while "we believe that newspapers should not go to an extent where the authorities are forced to close down a paper and put hundreds of workers out of a job." Of all persons, this scion of the owners of Nawa-i-Waqt emerged as a champion of the cause of journalists. The Nawa-i-Waqt proprietors have never allowed workers to form a trade union. Most of their employees are hired on contract to avoid Wage Board payments.

'Extreme Line'

Mr. Arif Nizami was critical of Mr. Osmani's 'extreme line' (which is not extremist at all) but he conveniently forgot the role played by the Nawa-i-Waqt in the factional fight between Daultana and Mamdot. It was a petty fight for power at the provincial level in which Nawa-i-Waqt sided with Mamdot. The paper had gone to the extent which now, in the eyes of Mr. Majid Nizami's son, should be out of bounds for healthy journalism. It was again and again banned by the Daultana Government and it was this fight which earned a name for Nawa-i-Waqt.

In short, PTV's [Pakistan Television] attempt to discuss the role of journalism in the growth of democracy was fouled up by the compere and the two proprietor-editors.

Lack of Civic Amenities, 'Shirking' Responsibility Criticized

91AS0001C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
13 Sep 90 p 8

[Text] It is a matter of constant wonder how civic institutions have succeeded in shirking responsibility for close on half a century now.

Every time it rains in Lahore, city roads and streets and lanes turn into veritable lakes, causing untold misery to pedestrians and motorists alike.

There is water everywhere. Access to schools, colleges, even hospitals is blocked. Attendance in public offices falls, causing the loss of tens of thousands of manhours.

What is worse, road surfaces eroded. Millions of rupees will be required to fill the potholes caused by the recent rains. The Metropolitan Corporation, used to living on

doles from the provincial government, is not pushed. Nor is the LDA [expansion unknown], nor yet WASA [expansion unknown].

Who is responsible for drainage? The MCL [expansion unknown], the LDA, WASA or all three? Are all these agencies in league with road-building contractors? What is the nature of the deal? You build the roads, we'll block drainage, so when the rains come, they are so badly damaged that we'll oblige you with a repair contract.

High Footpaths

How do the road-builders operate? They construct high footpaths on either side of the road ensuring that when it rains there is no outlet for the water. The situation on the Gulberg Main Boulevard, Queen's Road as it curves into Ferozepur Road at Mozang Chungi, Race Course Road as it leads from the Mall to the Police Club and beyond to China Chowk and right up to the Jail Road intersection, Lawrence Road from the back-door zoo entrance to

the Plaza Chowk, Nabha Road, Lake Road down to the Anarkali Chowk, Nisbet Road, Misri Shah, Samanabad, you name it.

Rain waters inundate these and other roads every blessed year but no-one in authority ever bothers. The monsoons, which should be a season of joyful relief from the scorching heat of the midsummer sun, bring in their wake savage ruination.

There is immediate need for goading the authorities into action by public agitation. Unfortunately, however official indifference is matched only by public apathy. We don't believe in a stitch in time. We needs must use nine. [sentence as received] So this year also, as in the past, let the drains remain clogged.

Democratically-elected administrations, fully answerable to the people, are essential even for efficient drainage. Horse-traders will be horse-traders.

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